UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A Policy Study of Extension of BEd Degree Conferring Authority in Alberta

by

Dale Patrick Bischoff

©

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
Educational Administration

Department of Educational Policy Studies

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring 1999

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-39505-7

Canada

University of Alberta

Library Release Form

Name of Author: Dale Patrick Bischoff

Title of Thesis: **A Policy Study of Extension of BEd Degree Conferring Authority in Alberta**

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Year Degree Granted: 1999

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend such copies for private, scholarly, or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication rights, and other rights in association with the copyright of this thesis, and except in as hereinbefore provided, neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

Dale Patrick Bischoff

Dale Patrick Bischoff

117 Great Oaks
Sherwood Park, AB
Canada, T8A 0V8

Date: April '99

The University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **"A Policy Study of Extension of BEd Degree Conferring Authority in Alberta"** submitted by Dale Patrick Bischoff in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Administration.

Ern Ratsoy
E. W. Ratsoy, Supervisor

M B Andrews
M. Andrews, Co-Supervisor

W. G. Maynes
W. Maynes

J. da Costa

L. Beauchamp
L. Beauchamp

W. G. M
for J. D. Dennison, External Reader
University of British Columbia

April 6, 1999
Date

Abstract

The purpose of this retrospective policy study was to identify how and why BEd degree conferring authority was extended to private colleges in Alberta. Data collection consisted of document review and interviews with selected key actors who played important roles in the adoption of the policy change. The study had two foci: one on the process by which The King's University College was able to attain BEd degree conferring authority, and the other on postsecondary policy change in Alberta utilizing Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1993) Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF).

Two sources of the policy change were identified: local political pressures and international pressures for neoliberalization of public policy. The study identified two opposing advocacy coalitions in the policy subsystem and fundamental differences in their respective belief systems. The coalition opposing the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private colleges consisted primarily of a coalition of educators who shared a common professional background and supported the professional aspirations of teachers. The advocacy coalition which supported the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private colleges consisted of advocates for private colleges, government MLAs who supported neoliberalization of public policy, civil servants, and the Private Colleges Accreditation Board of Alberta. The study confirmed the utility of the ACF to represent and explain the case study information on extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta.

Another finding of the study was the intractability of the policy change due to opposition by a consensus of professional educators. While educator elites anticipated additional extension of BEd degree conferring authority and increasing privatization of the postsecondary education system, respondents opposing the policy change expected resistance by the established educational stakeholders of the province. This potential

conflict has implications for the practice of school administration. Differentiation in teacher preparation that may result from a proliferation of BEd programs, also has quality control implications for the Teacher Certification Branch of the Department of Alberta Education and the Private Colleges Accreditation Board of Alberta.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my wife Shelly Ann Marie (SAM) without whose love, encouragement and patience this thesis could not have come to fruition. I also thank our sons Jason, Ryan and Brendan, and my parents Frank and Rose Bischoff for their confidence and encouragement during the period of my graduate studies.

Acknowledgments

I acknowledge the contribution of Dr. E. W. Ratsoy, supervisor of this dissertation, for his support and encouragement. I was fortunate to have enjoyed the guidance of Dr. Ratsoy who has similarly inspired a generation of graduate students with lessons about life and the research process. Further, I recognize the contribution of the study co-supervisor, Dr. M. Andrews, who provided assistance during the formulation of the research project and for unfailing support during the writing process. The following committee members are also acknowledged for their interest in this study: Dr. W. Maynes, for his clarity of understanding; Dr. J. da Costa, for his insightful questions; Dean of the Faculty of Education, Dr. L. Beauchamp, for his openness to discussion of the policy problem; and external examiner from the University of British Columbia, Dr. J. D. Dennison, for his constructive participation.

The writer also wishes to acknowledge the key respondents of the study without whose generous gift of time and information this study could not have been attempted. These respondents included: Dr. W. Worth, Dr. R. Bruinsma, Dr. B. Potvin, Dr. M. Horowitz, Dr. J. Paterson, Dr. H. Montgomerie, Dr. S. Murgatroyd, Dr. J. Buski, Mr. L. Booi, Mr. J. Ballheim, and unnamed civil service respondents.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1 - OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction 1
Statement of the Problem 2
    General research question 2
        Specific research questions 2
Justification 3
Delimitations 4
Limitations 4
Definitions 5
Organization of the Thesis 6

CHAPTER 2 - A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Organization of the Literature Review 8
Toward a Policy Analysis Conceptual Model 8
The Ascendancy of New Right Ideology 11
    Neoliberal economic concepts 14
    The New Right policy agenda 19
    Internationalization and policy convergence 20
    Internationalization of postsecondary education policy 24
The Impetus for Policy Change: International Relations Versus Policy Network Literature 27
The Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change 31
Application of the Advocacy Coalition Framework 33
Summary 36

CHAPTER 3 - RESEARCH METHOD

Introduction 38
Assumptions of the Researcher 38
Data Collection Strategies 40
Interviews 41
The Case Study 43
Analysis of the Data 43
Enhancing Credibility 45

Internal validity 46
External validity 46
Reliability 46
Ethical Considerations 47

CHAPTER 4 - THE CONTEXT OF TEACHER EDUCATION

Introduction 48
The Political Context in Alberta 48
Public policy and New Right ideology in Alberta 51
New Right policy manifestations in Alberta postsecondary education 57
Teacher Preparation and the Development of Postsecondary Education in Alberta 59
1905-1945: The University of Alberta and the Normal Schools 60
Post World War II: Economic growth and postsecondary education diversification 63
Inception of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board 66
Recent Alberta postsecondary decentralization 67
The Kings' University College 71
Summary 72
Trends in Teacher Preparation Programs 75
Introduction 75
Teacher preparation in England and the United States 76
Decentralization of BEd programs in British Columbia 77
Convergence of teacher certification 79
Conclusions 81

CHAPTER 5 - THE ADVOCACY COALITIONS IN ALBERTA

Introduction 87
The Advocacy Coalition Opposed to Extension of BEd Degree Conferring Authority 88
The Alberta Teachers Association 94
Discussion 97

The faculties of education of Alberta public universities 99
Alberta Education civil servants 104
Discussion 108
The Advocacy Coalition in Favour of Extension of BEd Degree Conferring Authority 111
The private colleges 115
Inception of the King's College BEd program 117
The Private Colleges Accreditation Board 123
Summary 128

CHAPTER 6 - ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY PROBLEM UTILIZING THE ADVOCACY COALITION FRAMEWORK OF POLICY CHANGE

Introduction 131
Basic Premises of the ACF 131
Hypotheses of the Advocacy Coalition Framework 133
Subsystem actors: Advocacy coalitions and policy brokers 134
Policy-oriented belief systems 139
Coalition learning and external perturbations 143
Policy-oriented learning 145
Conclusions 150

CHAPTER 7 - OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY, FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Overview of the Study 152
Findings of the Study 155
Discussion of the findings 156
The context of teacher education in Alberta: Decentralization and neoliberalization of postsecondary education 157
The role of the PCAB 160
Policy advocacy and stakeholder values 162
The Advocacy Coalition Framework 164
Incremental policy evolution 166

Expectation for conflict and resistance to government policy 169

New degree conferring authority on the horizon 173

Conclusions 174

Implications of the Findings 178

Recommendations for Further Study 181

Reflections of the Researcher 184

References 190

Appendix 1 - Authors Résumé 201

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

Figure 2.1 The Advocacy Coalition Framework of policy change 32

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 The structure the belief systems of policy elites 34

Table 4.1 The Alberta government annual budget surpluses in $ millions .. 53

Table 6.1 The belief systems of the opposing advocacy coalitions 140

CHAPTER 1
OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The year 1995 was a watershed for the extension of degree conferring status at postsecondary institutions in Alberta. During that year, several postsecondary institutions received approval from the Minister of Advanced Education and Career Development to confer new baccalaureate degrees, and two private colleges were authorized to grant Bachelor of Education (BEd) degrees. Although these new degree programs were the result of a slow incremental policy shift, they signified a decentralization trend in the delivery of postsecondary education in Alberta.

The forces opposing the new BEd degree conferring programs in Alberta were considerable and consisted of the Faculties of Education of Alberta's public universities, the Alberta Teachers' Association, and professional staff at the Alberta Department of Education. In spite of this opposition, the provincial government provided the authority for the new programs. Skolnik (1987) defends governments' prerogative for intervention in higher education and states that the "fundamental instance of government intervention in the university is at the stage of conception" (p. 56). Further, Skolnik (1997) has called postsecondary changes in Alberta and British Columbia "imaginative new designs" (p. 10). However, having the authority to provide for new degree conferring authority, even if these developments are imaginative, does not in itself explain why the Alberta government would do so in the face of considerable opposition.

Decentralization of BEd degree conferring during the past decade in the province of British Columbia, as identified by Fowler (1994), foreshadowed the Alberta experience. Although the motives of key actors in the decentralization of teacher education are difficult to ascertain, there are identifiable similarities in the extension of degree conferring policies in the two provinces and identifiable trends in the development of teacher education generally. In addition, recent global restructuring of universities also affects postsecondary policy shifts in Alberta.

The analysis of policy processes is a complex activity which, according to Dror (1981, pp. 55-56), typically includes an examination of a range of interactions and factors including (a) underlying values and assumptions, (b) consideration of political variables, (c) treatment of broader complex issues, (d) emphasis on policy alternatives, (e) recognition of ideologies, and (f) institutional self-awareness. Like Dror, Ball (1990) describes broadly the challenge of policy analysis:

> One basic task, then, is to plot the changing ideological, economic and political parameters of policy and to relate the ideological, political and economics to the dynamics of policy debate and policy formulation. A major problem will be to establish links, if any, between these elements, and their links, if any, to policy making (p. 8).

This study of postsecondary policy change in Alberta considers variables identified by Dror (1981) and Ball (1990), including the values and assumptions of competing stakeholders in the policy process, contextual political circumstances, recognition of the ideologies at play, and the perspectives of the institutional stakeholders. By exposing these policy variables, this study endeavors to provide an explanation of causation for the unfolding policy and to outline the chronology of the policy change that extended BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to understand the rationale of policy makers and to describe the process by which The King's University College was able to achieve degree conferring authority for a Bachelor of Education (BEd) program. It should be added, however, that policy studies are seldom able to tackle a single problem, but rather "face a cluster of entangled problems" interconnected, complex and whose boundaries are difficult to define (Pal, 1997, p. 3). Dobuzinskis (1996) concurs that policy problems are increasingly complex and reports a "blurring of the distinction between domestic and international issues" (p. 93). Similarly, this particular problem of postsecondary education change in Alberta appears interconnected with change in public education policy and other public policies.

General research question

The major question that this study addresses is:
What were the causes of the policy change which extended Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree conferring authority in Alberta?

Specific research questions

The major problem of the study can be stated in the form of several sub-problems as follows:

1. What was the context of teacher preparation in Alberta that preceded the policy change which extended BEd degree conferring authority to private colleges?

2. How did The King's University College achieve BEd degree conferring authority?

3. Who were the key stakeholders and who were their supporters in the policy debate on extension of BEd degree conferring authority to the private colleges of Alberta?

4. What were the competing perspectives for extending BEd degree conferring authority to other postsecondary institutions in Alberta?

5. What were the sources of pressure for the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to postsecondary institutions in Alberta?

6. What are the potential impacts of the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to the public and private colleges in Alberta?

Justification

Although some research has been done on the extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta, for example Small (1979) and Montgomerie (1990), this study has utility in that it identifies recent developments in the process of extending postsecondary degree conferring authority within Alberta and in particular highlights the development of a new teacher preparation program. Disclosure of the policy process may be helpful for planners of postsecondary education in Alberta and those in other jurisdictions who might wish to learn from the Alberta experience. With respect to theory, this policy study has the potential to contribute to an improved understanding of policy change.

Specifically, the study contributes to the field of educational policy analysis and educational practice in the following ways:

1. The rationale of policy makers was examined. The resultant description of the policy change process contributes to the understanding of Alberta postsecondary policy directions.

2. With several new degree programs emerging as a result of the recent policy initiatives, there may be practical significance for other postsecondary institutions that desire to understand the policy process associated with achieving degree conferring authority for their own proposed programs.

3. The study provides an historical perspective on how the policy on extension of degree conferring was achieved. At the macro level, the origin and role of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB) of Alberta was examined. At the micro level, a case study was conducted on how The King's University College was able to achieve approval for a new BEd program.

4. Finally, examination of this unfolding postsecondary policy reveals an important story about politics, advocacy coalitions, and the effects of New Right ideology which may illuminate theory on policy development. With respect to theory, the study employed and confirms the utility of the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) framework for analysis of policy change in the Alberta context.

Delimitations

This study is delimited by its focus on The King's University College Bachelor of Education program, as it illustrates the extension of degree conferring authority at selected Alberta postsecondary institutions. This case study examines only one institution which has achieved new degree conferring authority but the study also provides the broader context of Alberta's social, political and historical environment.

Interviews were delimited to key actors and policy planners who participated in the process whereby The King's University College obtained degree conferring authority for its new BEd program.

Limitations

Limitations are restrictions over which the researcher has little control (Rudestam & Newton, 1992). This study was limited by the degree to which generalizations can be made from the information collected in a single case study. In spite of this difficulty, the researcher assumes that it is possible to find "face generalizability" (Maxwell, 1996) or to "extrapolate" (Patton, 1990) findings to similar settings. Readers wishing to generalize beyond the context of this case are, however, cautioned to consider comparisons with the context of their particular interest.

The primary limitations of this study relate to the reliance on a single researcher to conduct the study, and the reliance on a small number of key stakeholder respondents and obtainable documents. The small sample size of the interview respondents and the documents reviewed could have biased the findings. There was also a potential danger that incomplete presentation of the data by the researcher could foster a particular point of view.

A final limitation for the study relates to the difficulties encountered in gathering information by means of document review and interview. These difficulties include the ability of key respondents to recall events which may be distanced by time and the possibility that some important information may be politically sensitive and thus difficult or impossible to access. In addition, because the characteristics of the interviewer and respondents are important factors influencing interview effectiveness, and therefore the nature of the information collected, these too are a source of potential bias in the study.

Definitions

The following definitions have been adopted for the purpose of this study an are presented in alphabetical order:

An ***advocacy coalition*** consists of people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system - i.e., a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions - and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time (Sabatier, 1988, p. 139).

Ideology is shared ideas, perceptions, values, and beliefs through which members of a society interpret history and contemporary social events and which shape their expectations and wishes for the future (Marchak, 1988, p. 5).

An ***ill-structured policy problem*** involves many decision makers whose values are unknown or difficult to rank. There is little consensus among stakeholders, only conflict and competing goals (Dunn, 1981, pp. 104-105).

Internationalization means a process by which various aspects of policy or policy making are influenced by factors outside national boundaries (Doern, Pal, & Tomlin, 1996, p. 3).

Key actors are the individuals who played significant roles in the adoption of the policy to extend BEd degree conferring authority to selected postsecondary institutions in Alberta.

Key respondents are persons interviewed who have expertise or pertinent knowledge about the extension of degree conferring.

New Right is defined broadly as those individuals who favor a greater role for the market and a lesser role for the state than currently exists (Ashford, 1993, p. 19).

Policy analysis is an applied social science discipline which uses multiple methods of inquiry and argument to produce and transform policy-relevant information that may be utilized in political settings to resolve policy problems (Dunn, 1981, p. 35).

Policy-oriented learning involves relatively enduring alterations of thought or behavioral intentions that result from experience and which are concerned with the attainment or revision of the precepts of the belief system of individuals or of collectivities (such as advocacy coalitions). (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 42).

A ***policy study*** explains how the policy process is shaped by a combination of macro and micro variables (Dobuzinskis, 1996, p. 6).

The ***policy subsystem*** includes actors from a variety of public and private organizations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 17).

Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do (Dye, 1992, p. 2).

Private colleges are institutions in Alberta operated by private organizations, usually religious organizations, which may offer a broad range of programs including high school, university transfer, and baccalaureate degree conferring.

Stakeholders are individuals or groups who have a stake in policy or issue resolution because they affect and are affected by government decisions (Dunn, 1981, p. 47).

Universities are degree granting institutions with a prime responsibility for research, teaching, and provision of community service (Alberta Advanced Education, 1985).

University transfer courses are courses offered in postsecondary institutions which are accepted in one of Alberta's four established universities for advanced credit toward completion of a baccalaureate degree (Private Colleges Accreditation Board, 1996).

Organization of the Thesis

Two main thrusts are emphasized in the dissertation. The first of these is a case study of the process by which The King's University College was able to attain degree conferring authority for its BEd program. This case represents a recent manifestation of the decentralizing trend in Alberta postsecondary degree conferring policy. The dissertation probes the impetus for this evident decentralization. Two factors, internationalization pressures and local political processes, are identified as contributing causes for the policy change. The second thrust of the dissertation examines the applicability of the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) model of policy change to explain the shift in Alberta postsecondary policy which extends degree conferring authority to private colleges.

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the study and a statement of the problem. Also explicated are a justification of the research, and the delimitations, limitations, and definitions on the study.

Chapter 2 summarizes the literature relevant to the study, explains the role of ideology and international policy convergence, and reviews the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) model of policy change (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

Chapter 3 presents the research design, including how the data collected in the interviews and the review of the documents were analyzed; describes efforts to enhance credibility; and outlines ethical considerations of the research.

Chapter 4 explains the Alberta context including the role of ideology, historical developments in Alberta postsecondary education, development of teacher preparation in Alberta, the role of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board of Alberta, recent decentralization in Alberta postsecondary education; and profiles The King's University College. Juxtaposed with the Alberta context for teacher preparation is a discussion of trends in teacher preparation in England, the United States, and British Columbia; and a discussion about possible convergence of teacher preparation and credentialing. Chapter 4 also provides the historical context needed to answer Sub-problems 1 and 5.

Chapter 5 describes the perspectives of key respondents in selected private university-colleges and public universities, and the Private Colleges Accreditation Board of Alberta. The stories of these stakeholders delineate the composition and the values of the competing advocacy coalitions in the policy process. Chapter 5 provides the information required to answer Sub-problems 2,3,4 and 5.

Chapter 6 provides an analysis of the policy change in Alberta's degree conferring authority using the hypotheses of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and confirms the applicability of the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) model of policy change for explaining postsecondary education change in the Alberta context case study. This analysis exposes deep value conflicts in the policy subsystem. The intractable nature of the policy change addresses the Sub-problem 6 focus on implications of the policy change.

Chapter 7 provides an overview of the study; presents the study findings with a discussion; provides conclusions and potential implications for theory, practice and further research; and ends with some reflections of the researcher.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Organization of the Literature Review

The literature review is divided into three sections. The first of these considers the policy literature relevant to defining the conceptual parameters of the current policy study, including group pressure and elite theory influence on the political process. Then key aspects of New Right ideology are surveyed, and the effects of internationalization and globalization on policy are examined. Finally, the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) advocacy coalition framework (ACF) for analysis of policy change is explained.

A retrospective policy study begs an examination of probable causation. Examination of the role of ideology in policy formulation, the policy agenda of the New Right, and internationalization and policy convergence indicates strong international pressures for globalization of policy (Berger & Dore, 1996; Keohane & Milner, 1996). The policy network literature, however, suggests that local pressures are the primary impetus of policy change (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995). This study employs the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) ACF of policy change because this model is able to incorporate both international policy pressures and local policy network impetus for policy change.

The ACF model considers policy change over time as a function of two sets of variables: interactions in the local policy subsystem and the larger political and economic system in which the policy subsystem is embedded. Pressure group activities represent interactions in the local policy subsystem. The literature on ideology and international policy convergence provides a perspective on significant pressures exogenous to the Alberta policy subsystem.

Toward a Conceptual Model of Policy Analysis

Policy analysis is an applied social science discipline which uses multiple methods of inquiry and argument to produce and transform policy-relevant information that may be utilized in political settings to resolve policy problems (Dunn, 1981). Dunn (pp. 51-54) identifies three forms of policy analysis (a) a *prospective* policy analysis studies data relevant to policy in the formulation stage, (b) a *retrospective* analysis analyzes policy information after the initiation of policy, and (c) an *integrated* policy analysis analyzes policy information before and after policy.

This study of the extension of degree conferring in Alberta postsecondary institutions is a retrospective policy analysis. It describes and analyzes the longitudinal evolution of the extension of degree conferring. However, it is important to note that policy development is ongoing. Sroufe (1995) argues that educational policy issues "are never fully ended; each period of quietude simply becomes the backdrop for the next stage of intense activity" (p. 80). Similarly, this retrospective examination of the extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta provides the unfolding and incomplete story in an evolving postsecondary environment.

Politics affects the policy process when "issues arise in nongovernmental groups and are then expanded sufficiently to reach, first, the public agenda and, finally, the formal agenda" (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995, p. 113). This type of political activity is explained as the "outside initiation model" and is present in pluralist societies. In this model, the key role is played by interest groups which initiate demands for resolution by government. Truman, as cited in Dye (1992) defined an *interest group* as "a shared-attitude group that makes certain claims upon other groups in society" and becomes political "when it makes a claim through or upon any of the institutions of government" (p. 26). Interest groups attempt to expand support for their demands and forms alliances with other groups. If an interest group can muster enough political support to outmaneuver the advocates of opposing policies, the interest group might succeed in having its issue placed on the formal political agenda where it can receive detailed consideration.

Group theory (Dye, 1992, pp. 26-28) describes all meaningful political activity in terms of group struggle. Policy makers respond to interest groups by negotiating, bargaining, and compromising with competing groups. Politics is the struggle among groups to influence public policy. In group theory, changes in public policy result when relative influence between different groups changes. That is, if equilibrium between groups is upset because of the increase of one group's numbers, wealth, leadership, or access to decision makers, then policy will shift toward the preferences of the stronger group.

Worth (1978) argued that in the real world policy is apt to emerge from the interaction of groups and interests in a power relationship. Greer (1986, pp. 39-40) identifies four aspects of the political nature of policy formulation in higher education. These are as follows: (a) the external socio-economic environment - significant change in higher education is more likely to be stimulated by external than by internal factors,

(b) the political environment - legislative practice in higher education has significant influence on subsequent policy formulation, (c) the structure of higher education - the numbers of actors in the arena with potentially divergent goals influence the number of policy decisions and the length of time for decision making, and (d) personal factors - the values and actions of policymakers and stakeholders affect policy outcomes.

Examination of these factors is necessary for analysis of the extension of degree conferring policy in Alberta. Socio-economic factors in Alberta and elsewhere affect demand for and supply of postsecondary education in Alberta. Degree conferring policies in Canada and internationally affect policy development in Alberta. The structure of higher education in Alberta affects the nature of policy decisions. Finally, the personal perspectives and values of policymakers, stakeholders, and leaders in numerous institutions significantly affect the extension of degree conferring policy process.

Public policy may also be considered as the preferences and values of the elite. Elite theory (Dye, 1992, pp. 28-30) can be summarized as follows:

1. Only a small number of persons in society have power and these persons allocate the values for society.

2. The elite who govern are not typical of the masses. The elite are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society.

3. The entry of new members into an elite is slow to maintain system stability. Only those who accept the consensus of the elite can enter the governing circles.

4. The elites share a consensus of the basic values of the system.

5. Public policy reflects the values of the elite and not the demands of the masses. Elites influence the masses more than the masses influence the elites.

6. Change in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary. Incrementalism is conservative, contains less risk, and maintains the stability in the system.

In summary, the literature examined above on interest groups, group theory, and political activity in the policy process is relevant to this study because an assumption underlying the study is that policy change results from successful interest group pressure on policy makers. In group theory, change in public policy follows change in relative strength of group influence on government. This study therefore examines the perceptions of individuals in the stakeholder groups affected by the policy change which extends degree conferring in Alberta.

Two additional sections of the literature review follow. The first of these examines the assumptions of the New Right which underpin the rationale of those who seek extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta. The literature on the New Right policy agenda, internationalization and policy convergence, and the impetus of policy change from the perspective of international relations literature as contrasted with the policy network literature is reviewed. Finally, the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) is explained as this framework was utilized to analyze the change in policy on degree conferring authority by colleges in Alberta. This model was chosen because it is able to incorporate the assumption of the international relations literature that policy is influenced by international ideological pressures and the assumption of group pressure theorists that local pressures influence policy change.

The Ascendancy of New Right Ideology

Two definitions are offered to clarify the meaning of terms used in the literature that was reviewed. The *New Right* is defined broadly as "those individuals who favor a greater role for the market and a lesser role for the state than currently exists" (Ashford, 1993, p. 19)." Although both neoliberal and neoconservative ideas influence the New Right movement, this definition assumes the predominance of neoliberal values in the New Right coalition. The term *ideology* means the "shared ideas, perceptions, values, and beliefs through which members of a society interpret history and contemporary social events and which shape their expectations and wishes for the future" (Marchak, 1988, p. 5).

These two concepts, *New Right* and *ideology*, are central to understanding public policy convergence in the last two decades, during which, the values of the market have been accorded a greater role in society and policy making because these values have become accepted ideology. Pannu (1996) concurs that neoliberalism is dominant: "Since the early 1980s, neoliberalism has become the hegemonic ideology. Increasingly it has come to dominate and shape politics, economy, and public policy" (p. 87). The market is replacing the state as the predominant rationale for public policy, and this new rationale is increasingly becoming a shared value by which members of Western society interpret history and shape policy expectations for the future.

Societal values about the appropriate roles of the market and the state have been slowly changing. The decades following World War II were characterized by the widespread economic belief that governments could control the economy by manipulating key macro-economic variables, but full employment and the welfare state could be maintained only if the economy continued to grow. The stagflation of the Western economies during the 1970s, however, demonstrated that growth could not be sustained. Following this line of reasoning, Majone (1991) states that, as a result,

> Keynes was proclaimed dead: monetarism and supply-side economics became the new orthodoxy. Increasingly, the fiscal crisis of the welfare state came to be seen as part of the general crisis of socialism. The rejection of demand management and "fine tuning" implied the rejection of more direct forms of intervention in the economy. (p. 82)

During the 1980s a dramatic shift to the right in public policy was evident in Western liberal democracies led by the examples of Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States. There were multiple causes for this shift to the right. The high levels of government debt, the burden of taxes, and the collapse of the communist system all contributed to a renewed interest in the possibilities of the free market. Analysts attributed global policy changes to the rise of New Right ideology which advocated a greater role for market forces and a reduction in the size and role of government. King (1987) states that "the force of New Right advocates has been sufficient to displace effectively the post-war Keynesian consensus and to redefine the political agenda" (p. 26).

Within a broad coalition of groups that are identified with the policies of the New Right are two factions: the neoliberal wing, which is concerned with the promotion of individual liberty; and the neoconservative wing, which is concerned with the restoration of traditional values. Liberalism and conservatism have several contradictory assumptions, including the role of the state versus the scope of freedom, the role of capitalism and the industrial revolution, and the secularization of society. With respect to the role of the state, conservatives value a strong state to protect tradition, hierarchy, inequality, and authority. Liberals abhor a strong state, which necessarily takes precedence over the freedom of the individual. Conservatism is born in reaction to capitalism and the industrial revolution. Carl (1994, p. 299) argues that conservatives are ambivalent about capitalism and view it as a generator of wealth but also as an eroder of morality and social order. What liberals value in the rise of capitalism, for example, democracy, technology, and secularism, are all values rejected by conservatives. Extending democracy threatens inequality and tradition. Technology brings change, which also threaten stability and tradition. Finally, whereas liberals emphasize the secularization of society, conservatives advocate the maintenance of traditional values and restoration of the primacy of Christian principles and morality.

In recognizing these significant differences in the values of liberalism and conservatism, it appears surprising that both factions could find a common home in the politics of the New Right. The common denominator which draws liberals and conservatives into coalition is their common fear of the extension of social citizenship rights and its concomitant rise of the welfare state. Both neoliberals and neoconservatives unite in their desire to reduce the size and scope of government.

Whereas economic liberalism is at the core of the New Right, conservative arguments often complement the policy goals of liberalism. For example, the New Right has fostered a new morality through its approach to women's roles, sexuality, and the family. Emphasis on women's traditional role is central to conservative values and conservative dissatisfaction with government relates to its promotion of a modern, emancipated role for women. Neoconservatives seek to reduce government scope of activity because they believe the welfare state interferes with the sanctity of traditional values. Similarly, neoliberalism also values minimalist government to free commerce from regulation and to reduce taxation. The restoration of traditional values is therefore a significant element of the New Right rhetoric which complements economic arguments for reducing the scope of the state.

An example of the divergence of rationale in social policy between neoliberal and neoconservative wings of the New Right, but which supports similar policy objectives, is present in social welfare policy. Neoconservatives desire a return to greater reliance on private welfare, family self-support, self-reliance of society, and a corresponding dismantling of the welfare state. Neoconservatives argue that state provision of welfare erodes the family's traditional role as provider, and they believe that "the health, welfare, and education of individuals should be the purview of the family" (Eisenstein; as cited in King, 1987, p. 19). Neoconservative criticism of the welfare state is embraced by neoliberals for an entirely different rationale. Neoliberals are primarily concerned with dismantling government structures to free the market and to reduce the burden of taxes which the welfare state inevitably brings. Although the rationale for neoliberals and neoconservatives is divergent, they agree on the common policy goal of reduction of the scope of government.

King (1987) also argues that the central tenets of the New Right, that is, individualism, a free market, and a limited state cannot be isolated from the social and moral values associated with New Right administrations (p. 16). However, although conservative values remain prevalent in the rhetoric of the New Right, they are subordinate to the values of economic liberalism because neoconservatives are generally economically liberal, but neoliberals are not necessarily morally conservative. In fact, for many liberals, freedom is the primary value. Conservatives, on the other hand, value order. When these two values are in conflict, neoliberalism, the heart of the New Right coalition, generally is the dominant partner in the New Right coalition. For example, much fury can be heard from neoconservative ranks about the moral decay evident in liberalized access to abortion, but in the end, neoliberal freedom is the fundamental value which is used to justify maintenance of access to abortion.

While neoconservative values may be subordinate to neoliberal policy goals of the New Right, social and moral conservatism are regularly visible. For example, the Thatcher government of Britain championed conservative values of nation, family, duty, authority, standards and traditionalism, with neoliberal values of self interest, competitive individualism, and anti-statism (King, 1987). Neoconservative social and moral policy objectives which surface often include banning abortion, allowing prayer and Bible study in public schools, promoting traditional family roles, accepting censorship of deviant behavior, and discriminating against a homosexual lifestyle. In Britain, neoconservative morality is referred to as "Victorian values" and advocates express antipathy with social and sexual liberation and the "permissive society." In the United States, neoconservative morality is exemplified by Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority, which emphasizes links between economic and political conservatism, patriotism, and biblical teachings. While neoconservative values are prevalent on both sides of the Atlantic, neoliberal economic values are at the core of the New Right.

Neoliberal economic concepts

The principal contributors to the neoliberal economic literature include Milton Friedman (1970) of the Chicago school, Friedrich Hayek (1976, 1989) of the Austrian school, James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock (1962) of the Public Choice school, and George Gilder (1981) and Arthur Laffer of the supply-side school. Although each of these authors contributed to the ideas of the New Right, their foci are often dissimilar. Welsh (1993) describes the New Right as a "label of convenience applied to a heterogeneous collection of individuals and organizations of people whose purposes vary considerably" (p. 46). The following exposition of selected ideas of these influential writers is not comprehensive but is intended only as a survey of central concepts which may inform understanding of the ideological undercurrents of recent policy change in Alberta. These central concepts include a discussion of the roles of government, taxation, debt reduction, monetary policy, and inflation.

Milton Friedman (1970), awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1976, and Friedman and Friedman (1980, 1984), are well known as advocates of free markets and as a critics of Keynesian recommended fiscal intervention in the economy. Milton Friedman's reputation was established with his work on the causal link between inflation and the growth of the money supply. Keynes believed that recession was caused by a decrease in aggregate demand and that increased government spending was the solution. Friedman argued that recession was the result of a shrinking money supply and, conversely, that inflation resulted from an excessively rapid growth in money supply. Whereas Keynes accepted inflation as a trade-off for full employment, represented as the Philips curve (Archer, 1973, p. 445), Friedman believed that inflation was the prime threat to economic stability and therefore to be strenuously avoided.

In the post World War II decades, fiscal policy (changes in government revenue and expenditure) was considered orthodox economic practice. However, in the 1960s and 1970s a growing number of economists, led by Friedman, began to claim that changes in the money supply could not only determine prices, but also affect the Gross National Product. This monetarist school argued that an increase in money supply automatically increased aggregate demand and economic growth. Conversely, when inflation is evident, a reduction in money supply would reduce aggregate demand and inflation. While monetarists claimed that fiscal intervention was not required to stabilize an economy, they were in the minority.

Keynes' theory of fiscal interventionism held sway until the 1970s when an extended period of simultaneously high inflation and unemployment discredited his premise that inflation was a trade-off for full employment. In addition to his strong aversion to inflation, Friedman had strong beliefs about the value of economic freedom, which he felt promoted political freedom. Friedman argued that fiscally interventionist governments inhibited freedom and were unable to achieve their social objectives. Therefore, Friedman rejected Keynesian fiscal interventionism as a failure because it could not prevent inflation, was a violation of economic and political freedom, and forced taxes to unbearable heights. With the apparent failure of Keynesian fiscal policies to explain or compensate for stagflation, monetarist solutions began to be considered in the United States and England as a remedy for inflation.

A disciple of Keynes, and a giant economist in his own right, John Kenneth Galbraith anticipated a surgence of monetarism which he attributed to the effective evangelism of Friedman. Galbraith (1975) unflatteringly described Friedman:

> As a devout and principled conservative, Professor Friedman saw monetary policy as the key to the conservative faith. It required no direct intervention by the state in the market. It elided the direct management of expenditures and taxation, not to mention the large budget, which was implicit in the Keynesian system. It was a formula for minimizing the role of the government - for returning to the wonderfully simpler world of the past. (p. 280)

Galbraith correctly identified the conservative nature of Friedman's values but apparently did not appreciate the gathering strength of monetarism. Friedman and monetarism were in ascendancy in the United States as Hayek received acclaim in Europe.

Friedrich Hayek (1976, 1989) was the recipient of the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1974. He was the leading spokesman and author of the Austrian school and championed laissez faire and individual liberty. Liberty, for Hayek, was necessary because it provided for the unpredictable and allowed individuals to experiment with new ideas. Furthermore, liberty was necessary because society is a spontaneous order, the result of human action and not of deliberate planning. Hayek believed that tradition was an example of a spontaneous order which benefited society. Central to the Austrian school was also the focus on the individual as the appropriate unit for social analysis.

The Austrian school, like Friedman, believed that inflation is caused by a flawed monetarist policy which allowed too great an increase in money supply. However, Friedman believed that inflation could be defeated slowly with a reduction in the increase of the money supply, whereas Hayek and the Austrian school argued that inflation had to be ended completely and quickly by a sharp reduction in the growth of the money supply to the level of real economic growth. A rapid decrease in the growth of money supply would end inflation quickly, and the resultant unemployment could be absorbed naturally by new economic development in a market with few restrictions.

Hayek's and Friedman's analyses of the role of unions as a restriction on the labor market provides a second important difference in their ideas. Friedman believed that the growth in money supply was the source of inflation and that trade unions had no impact. Hayek believed that the quick eradication of inflation would result in unemployment and recession but that these were acceptable and would be alleviated by natural redeployment of labor in an unrestricted market. Unions, however, restricted the redeployment of labor and were therefore a problem for new economic equilibrium. Friedman, on the other hand, was not concerned with the quick redeployment of labor because he was willing to defeat inflation slowly. Hayek also argued that unions created unemployment by negotiating wages that were higher than market value. Because unions prevented an effective labor force both by limiting natural labor redeployment and by demanding higher than market value wages, Hayek advocated limits on union rights. He argued for the prohibition of mass picketing as coercive. Finally, Hayek advocated an end to closed union shops as restraint of trade and concluded that no union should have a monopoly to negotiate contracts for all workers (Ashford, 1993).

Public Choice is a theory of politics which predicts the behavior of individuals based on what is in their best interests. In parallel economic terms, consumers make choices based on rational maximization of utility. The principal proponents of the Public Choice school were Buchanan and Tullock (1962) who suggested that the state exists to protect individual rights and to provide public services. If the government grows beyond this limited role, its legitimacy is called into question. The conclusion of Public Choice advocates is that the government has grown much larger than the public supports and that this violates the "contract" between individuals and the state.

Public Choice advocates believe that government has grown disproportionately to the needs of the public because of the demands of politicians, bureaucrats, and interest groups. Politicians are perceived as vote maximizers who are willing to buy votes with public expenditure before elections. The result is a political business cycle whereby governments increase spending or money supply before an election to create prosperity. Government deficits are increased and inflation created which must be dealt with eventually. Interest groups tend to induce growth in government because they are successful in their lobbying efforts and are able to influence the government to spend before elections. Bureaucrats also increase the size of the government because their self-interest is in size maximization or empire building. Bureaucrats use their strategic location to gather and control the flow of information and to cooperate with interest groups. Politicians who feel pressure from interest groups therefore tend to empower bureaucrats to placate the interest groups.

Public Choice advocates have as their first priority to reduce the natural propensity for overgovernment. The principal strategy endorsed by Public Choice advocates to defeat the predisposition of politicians to spend freely has been a demand for balanced budgets. This inevitably requires a reduction of spending and a downsizing of bureaucracy and government services. As a means of inducing bureaucrats to reduce public spending, Public Choice advocates suggest competition and incentive for bureaucrats to capture profits. In response to pressures from interest groups, Public Choice advocates counsel a reduction in public consultation as a means of minimizing the influence of special interest groups whose goals conflict with those of the taxpayer.

Finally, to reduce the tendency for overgovernment, Public Choice advocates champion decentralization of government to allow opportunities for individuals to move to other jurisdictions if they are dissatisfied with government taxes and services.

Supply-side economics were scarcely heard of before the Reagan presidency in the United States. For supply-siders, taxation is the greatest impediment to economic growth. Increased government induced demand, the traditional Keynesian solution for recession, forces deficits and higher taxes. When taxes become high in the perception of workers, they work less, increase consumption during leisure, and thereby decrease savings which would otherwise be available for investment. Supply-siders argue that this reduction of work, increase in consumption, and decrease in savings and investment all result in slower economic growth. The Austrian school influence can be seen in the emphasis on the economic choices made by individuals.

The fundamental premise of the supply-side micro-economic theory is that tax reduction is the most effective way to promote economic growth because tax relief provides incentive to individuals to work harder, save more, and thus stimulate new economic growth. Theoretical evidence for the value of tax reduction is provided by a micro-economic model, the Laffer curve, which demonstrates that there are always two tax rates which yield the same revenues. The corollary of this model is that it is possible to increase tax revenues by a reduction in the tax rate (Ashford, 1993).

A central consideration of the supply-side argument, like that of the Austrian school, is the emphasis on individual choice in the market place. Gilder (1981), a major advocate of the supply-side school, attacked fiscal and monetary macro-economic models that fail to deal with individual decisions. He rejected the monetarist concern with money supply and deficits, and the Keynesian concern with aggregate and consumer demand as abstract and irrelevant to the behavior of individuals in the market place.

In summary, discussion about the values and beliefs of neoliberalism and neoconservatism, and the economic theories of Friedman, Hayek, Keynes, Buchanan, Tullock, Gilder, and Laffer surveyed in the preceding section are the building blocks for understanding the philosophical and economic debate about prevailing New Right policy objectives. The current study presents policy change as a function of two sets of variables: interactions in the local policy subsystem and those in the larger political and economic system in which the policy subsystem is embedded. The literature on ideology is foundational for an understanding of the ideas and values of the New Right from which emerges their policy agenda. These ideas and values, predominantly economic liberalism in coalition with advocates of conservative morality, influence the policy agenda in Western democracies and the local context of Alberta. This ideological perspective is essential for a broad understanding of the larger political and economic impetus for policy change in Alberta.

The New Right policy agenda

In spite of significant differences in the ideas and economic theories of the different schools of thought in the New Right, their policy goals are similar. The policy agenda of the New Right has coalesced around the accomplishment of the following goals: reduction of inflation and taxation, privatization, deregulation, public sector competition, and constitutional reform.

The importance of reducing inflation is agreed upon by all factions of the New Right. The Chicago and Austrian schools advocate a reduction in the growth of the money supply to reduce inflation (though the Austrian school argues for a more rapid reduction in money supply than does the Chicago school). The Chicago monetarists and the Public Choice advocates also propose a constitutional requirement or monetary rule which limits the rate at which the government may allow the money supply to grow. The Chicago, Austrian, and Public Choice schools are also all committed to a balanced budget as a means to reduce public expenditure. Supply-siders, however, are prepared to accept deficit budgets and believe that tax revenues can be increased with a reduction in tax rates. With respect to taxes, the New Right supports a reduction, with the claim that taxes create a disincentive to work, save, and invest. Tax reduction puts more dollars in the hands of individuals and allows them the opportunity to make choices about the disposal of that income.

A prominent policy goal of the New Right is privatization. If taxes and government expenditures are to be reduced, new ways need to be found to deliver government services privately at reduced costs. Privatization can include denationalization of state assets (e.g., industry, properties), the abolition of state subsidies (e.g., regional development or agricultural incentives), contracting out to private businesses for government services (e.g., cleaning services, garbage collection), and provision for opting out of government services (e.g., private health insurance, pension plans, and private education). In those areas of the public sector which cannot be privatized, competition is encouraged by new right advocates. Competition has the effect of increasing effectiveness and fiscal efficiency in public sector markets (e.g., education vouchers).

Related to privatization, deregulation is also a means to remove government interference from the market place. Deregulation is demanded by the New Right to remove the many regulations which they believe result in increased prices, reduced investment, and reduced consumer choice.

Constitutional reform goals advocated by the New Right include greater autonomy and accountability for the civil service, competition among bureaucracies, and greater reliance on local government for tax revenues. The most significant constitutional reform goal of the New Right is the constitutional or legislative requirement for government to maintain balanced budgets. For Friedman, the most important goals for public policy were to balance the budget and limit government taxation and spending based on a fixed percentage of Gross National Product. Also, to defeat inflation, the Chicago monetarists and the Public Choice advocates proposed a constitutional requirement or monetary rule which limits the rate at which government might allow the money supply to grow.

Another aspect of the New Right faith in constitutional change is their acceptance that innovation will inevitably change the world. Therefore, for the New Right, public policy should facilitate change for two reasons (Breton, 1996). First, as technological innovation provides competitive advantage for societies that facilitate change, economically successful societies utilize public policy as "grease" to ensure quick adoption of innovation. Second, because special interest groups resist innovation that threatens their income, public policy must hasten change because delay could decrease the economic advantages of early adoption of the innovation.

In summary, recognition of the policy agenda of the New Right is foundational for an understanding of the prevalent ideological pressures influencing policy makers in Alberta. Policy goals including combating inflation, tax reduction, privatization, deregulation, public sector markets, and constitutional reform are all manifestations of the ideology of the New Right. Their appearance in Alberta can be attributed to the growing acceptance of these policies by individuals in society and by many governments of the West, especially since the electoral success of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.

Internationalization and policy convergence

As the ideology of the New Right is increasingly seen as the engine of public policy rationale, or the "grease" for transition to a competitive society, policy could be expected to converge in different policy jurisdictions. Internationalization, a process by which policy making is influenced by factors outside national boundaries, can be explained as "convergence." Berger and Dore (1996) describe convergence theory as a relatively recent conception, first discussed post World War II, which identified technology as the engine of convergence. The common notion was that as countries attempted to maintain economic and military survival in a competitive world, they advanced through a common trajectory of technological innovation. The path through which all countries advanced had common stages, and countries were expected to adopt similar political, economic, and social structures over time.

By the 1990s the idea that technology could drive an optimal organization of production had largely given way to the conception that convergence was the result of international competition, globalization, regional integration, and deregulation. Increasing openness of national economies and ease of flight of capital and production to favorable environments, created pressure for governments to create agreeable economic conditions and common institutions. Political pressures for convergence are such now that Berger and Dore (1996) suggest: "For many observing the globalization of international economic exchanges, the issue is not whether convergence of national regulatory regimes and production structures is taking place but only whether it is proceeding rapidly enough" (p. 14).

Economic convergence is, of course, directly related to the acceptance of New Right ideology which has been strengthening for decades in the Western world. An international economic system championing free markets was created after World War II. This system developed trade organizations including the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The purpose of these organizations was to create supranational decision making bodies to stabilize international issues regarding trade and to knock down international barriers to trade and communication. Pannu (1996) states that the World Bank "uses its enormous financial power . . . to 'persuade' in myriad ways developing country elites to follow policies that are consistent with and rooted in economic liberalism" (p. 93).

The pressures for economic liberalism created by this system of organizations have been successful. King (1987) reports that the national governments of West Germany (1983), Netherlands (1982), Denmark (1981), Sweden (1976), the United States (1980), and Britain (1979) have all swung electorally to the right. Boyer (1996) cites as evidence supporting convergence theory:

> the collapse of Soviet economic regimes and the switch of their elites to markets and democracy; the erosion of and structural crisis of the Swedish model; the aborted French experience of a socialist strategy out of the current crisis; the surge of Asian dragons and their impressive technological achievements; the ambition of the Maastricht Treaty to promote a fast track to real convergence via monetary integration (p. 57).

Trade figures provide evidence of convergence. Movement of people and goods has grown exponentially. Tourism is now the globe's largest industry. As national borders have become more porous, people, goods, ideas, information, and services can freely cross political boundaries. Growth in world export trade since 1950 has been dramatic, climbing from 100 ($ billions) in 1950 to 4,200 ($ billions) in 1994 (Pal, 1997, p. 37).

One result of globalization is the increasing size of transnational corporations which have international operations. These corporations are enormous with employees numbering often in excess of 100,000 and revenues numbering in the tens or hundreds of billions of $US. Corporation size of this magnitude creates greater economies of scale and results in global production processes whereby parts manufactured in one country may be assembled in another country. Another significant result of globalization is the increase of capital flow and mobility. Large financial institutions transfer investment capital freely and instantly around the globe. This creates a larger market from which governments can borrow to finance deficits. On the other hand, international financial markets can influence fiscal policy by declining loans to insolvent governments or demanding changes to economic policy.

Advocates of globalism claim that it has the potential to boost productivity and living standards globally because an integrated economy can provide better utilization of labor and exploit economies of scale. Globalization is fueled by an increase in the transnational flow of goods and money as a result of technological advances in communication and computing. The other major pressure for globalization is the worldwide adoption of liberalization of trade. During the last decade, global trade has increased twice as fast as output, foreign trade has increased three times as fast, and cross-border trade in shares has increased 10 times as fast as economic growth ("Schools brief," 1997, p. 79).

There are, however, two troubling implications of economic globalism for national governments. The first is that national governments have fewer policy instruments at their disposal to protect local and national interests. Paul Martin, Finance Minister of Canada, has stated that "the nation state has evolved into a new kind of entity which has suffered a substantial loss of sovereignty" (Newman, 1998, p. 52). The trade-off for this loss of sovereignty is expected economic growth. By reducing international barriers, governments "sacrifice domestic autonomy in the hope of a higher standard of living" (Keohane & Milner, 1996, p. 17). Critics of globalization fear that international pressures for competition will erode national governments' ability to set independent economic and political agendas. For example, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) constrains national economic policy such that "governments that do not conform to the IMF's program targets, for instance, are blacklisted. When a government is blacklisted, investment and technology transfers are frozen, and export and import credits are often blocked (Pannu, 1996, p. 97). Left-wing governments may, however, be more constrained than right-wing governments. Keohane and Milner (1996) state:

> loss of policy autonomy may place special pressure on left-wing, social democratic governments. If left-wing governments favor expansionary monetary and fiscal policies to create full employment, then their policy preferences may be more constrained than those of right-wing governments who give stable prices priority over full employment. (p. 17)

Additionally, critics of globalism argue that if government autonomy can be constrained and national markets swallowed by an emerging economic globalization process, so too can national culture and institutions be threatened by global harmonization. Just as globalism dissolves economic boundaries, traditional social policy boundaries also tend to dissolve. As ideas converge, national social policy also converges and tends to become increasingly uniform internationally.

The phenomenon of domestic policy making being influenced by international pressures is called *internationalization*. Doern, Pal and Tomlin (1996) define internationalization as "a process by which various aspects of policy or policy making are influenced by factors outside national boundaries" (p. 3). Majone (1991) states that policy models emanating from economically and politically powerful countries are most likely to be emulated when policy is developed in other jurisdictions. Majone also describes the force exerted by the foreign policy model on domestic policy in terms of both "push" and "pull" types. The "push" type of influence is exemplified by the American influence on development of competition policy in Europe post World War II. The second force for policy convergence, the "pull" type, is demonstrated by American deregulation which was able to attract attention from European policy makers without direct American pressure. Bennett (1991), combines domestic network analysis with international processes and explains convergence in terms of emulation, diffusion, harmonization and penetration. Emulation and diffusion correspond to Majone's "pull' type of internationalization, whereas harmonization and penetration correspond with "push" type of internationalization.

Pressure in Alberta to extend degree conferring and open teacher preparation to a broader range of institutions would be categorized as a pull type of policy convergence because policy makers and private postsecondary stakeholders in Alberta are attracted to models emanating from Britain and the United States which they attempt to emulate. Push pressures for policy convergence are generally regulatory in nature and therefore not pertinent to our case study of teacher preparation unless push pressures for internationalization of teacher credentialing emerge, an issue which will be examined in Chapter 4 of this study.

Policy is susceptible to internationalization pressures on a broad front of sectors. For example, the need for a level playing surface for trade stimulates convergence in international trade tribunals which in turn creates expectations for convergence of tribunals for international law. In June 1998, 185 countries met in Rome to create a permanent international court to punish crimes against human rights (Dyer, 1998). Like trade tribunals, this international court requires a partial surrender of national sovereignty to permit the international court to prosecute nationals of the signatory countries. As we have seen, internationalization pressures can stimulate policy convergence in different policy arenas such as trade, international law, and, monetary and fiscal policy. Internationalization pressures are also able to affect postsecondary education policy, to which the discussion now turns.

Internationalization of postsecondary education policy

Internationalization pressures on social policy clearly extend into postsecondary education policy, the focus of this study. Pannu, Schuguransky and Plumb (1994) describe the university as a "core institution of the welfare state" (p. 509) which has suffered from the dramatic impact of capitalist restructuring and retrenchment of the welfare state. Their survey of international postsecondary literature indicates an "unmistakable similarity of the reforms taking place in a wide variety of nations with different social, political, historical, and economic characteristics" (p. 505). These similarities of recent university reforms include government financial cutbacks, conditional funding based upon institutional accountability, increased private participation in public universities and increased public financing of private universities (each of which blurs the distinction between private and public universities), an increased presence of corporate rationality with mergers among departments and institutions, an emphasis on efficiency rather than on equality of opportunity, an increased presence of market values and forces, a demand-driven organizational orientation, an emphasis on excellence, and an integration of the system of postsecondary institutions which encourages differentiation and choice. These similarities in international postsecondary policy reforms, represent the implementation of New Right policy objectives.

The New Right has considerable influence in international finance of education, both public and postsecondary. Pannu (1996) states that the World Bank "has been for decades the preeminent international player shaping educational policies at all levels of the educational system in the Third World" (p. 99). The World Bank claims to be the largest single source of external finance for education in developing countries and concludes that its influence extends "upon education policy and upon leveraging spending by national authorities" (Brown, 1994, p. 19). The World Bank employs a large staff of economists and has conducted considerable research on the economics, finance, and management of education as they provide capital for education finance on a global scale.

Brown (1994), in *Summary and Evaluation of the World Bank Draft Report: Priorities and Strategies for Education*, suggests that at least three of the six fundamental shifts which the World Bank requires of government to improve education involve greater privatization of education (mainly higher education, but also secondary education). The three shifts in government role counseled by the World Bank include a greater reliance on private schools, a greater reliance on private financing and a greater use of market mechanisms generally (p. 1).

Brown's (1994) reports the World Bank's suggestion that governments promote increased education expenditure by taking advantage of the public's willingness to pay increased user fees in secondary and higher education. In Canada, the public apparently is willing to pay increased fees and accept the growing role of private postsecondary education. In a Macleans national survey (Chidley, 1997, p. 24), 80% of Canadians said that by the year 2005 private universities were likely and 61% said that private universities were acceptable. Figures for respondents aged 18-24 were even more positive, with 68% saying they would welcome private universities.

The value of increased fees in both private and public education stems from the World Bank's belief that consumers of educational services are more likely to make careful choices about institutional quality when they pay fees. Choice stimulates the creation of an educational marketplace which would be more responsive to consumers.

Additionally, the development of private finance structures dependent on student fees would remove dependency on government funding and stimulate institutional autonomy.

Specifically with respect to higher education, the World Bank encourages the development of a private sector because of its belief that private universities outperform public ones in most countries (Brown, 1994, p. 8). For countries of high income and high primary school enrollments (95%-100%) such as Canada, the World Bank suggests that in higher education the government emphasize private provision and fees at public institutions (p. 10). The World Bank also advocates a greater mix of private and public postsecondary institutions with differentiated programs that could better provide broad consumer choice. As well, it recommends the separation of teaching and research functions at universities. The applied degree programs recently approved in Alberta, and in their initial years of operation in technical schools and colleges, could be seen as a response to the global policy convergence of separation of postsecondary teaching and research functions.

It is apparent that the rationale for postsecondary policy changes recommended by the World Bank (Brown, 1994) is underpinned by neoliberal economic values. These values are also the foundation for policy convergence across a broad platform of policy sectors. An example of a policy rationale which crosses both national and sectoral boundaries was suggested by Smith (1993) who advocates greater consumer choice for hospital services in Britain. "Patients may have to travel substantial distances and the less mobile and poor are unlikely to have equal access . . . the system is likely to favour large teaching hospitals and so provide people with less choice in certain regions" (p.156). If one substitutes students for patients, and universities for hospitals in the quotation, we have precisely the argument made locally for access in Alberta to degree granting programs at regional colleges. That is "Students have to travel substantial distances and the less mobile and poor are unlikely to have equal access. The system favors large universities and provides people with less choice in certain regions."

Anisef (1985) provides corroborating data to support this access argument for Alberta in 1981, which suggests that with respect to postsecondary participation, Albertan students of urban origin were about twice as likely to have access to university as students of rural origin (p. 173). If one disregards locality in the illustration above (Britain and Alberta), and sector (hospitals and universities), it is clear that arguments about access in both English hospitals and Alberta universities demonstrate international convergence of rationale for decentralization of access to publicly supported institutions.

Similar ideological arguments made for choice, accountability, accessibility, and institutional responsiveness are made by the New Right in a broad range of social policy sectors. In Alberta, public pressure for choice, accessibility, and responsiveness in postsecondary education is also directly responsible for charter schools and school councils in public education. The same advocates of New Right values provide pressure and impetus for policy change in health care, public education, and the postsecondary education system which is the focus of this study.

The Impetus for Policy Change: International Relations Versus Policy Network Literature

There are two schools of thought about the reasons for the shift toward globalism and the ideological policies of the New Right. The first of these schools suggests that the ideas of economic liberalism and international convergence are the impetus for internationalization or policy convergence (Berger & Dore, 1996). The second school of thought argues that interests drive policy change. Interests are represented by the major stakeholders in the policy subsystem who advocate their policy goals in the political arena (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995).

The first school of thought, that ideas are decisive in the development of policy, flows from the statement attributed to Victor Hugo: "Greater than the tread of mighty armies is an idea whose time has come." Keynes (as cited in Boyd, 1992) also believed in the power of ideas, as exemplified in his statement:

> The ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood . . . Soon or late, it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil (p. 505).

The Chicago and Austrian schools of the New Right also generally emphasize the role of ideas. Friedman and Friedman (1980) stated:

> A major change in social and economic policy is preceded by a shift in the climate of intellectual opinion . . . After a lag, sometimes of decades, an intellectual tide taken as its flood will spread at first gradually, then more rapidly, to the public at large and through the public's pressure on government will effect the course of economic, social and political policy. (p. 455).

Friedman and Friedman (1980) identified three such gradual, worldwide intellectual economic tides based on ideas: the Adam Smith tide, which began the acceptance of laissez-faire; the Fabian tide, which ushered in the welfare state; and the Hayek tide, which began the resurgence of free markets. This concept of a global tide of acceptance for economic orthodoxy shares similarity with Kuhn's (1970) *The Structure* *of Scientific Revolutions,* in which he postulated that acceptance of scientific theories is cyclical. After a revolution of new data collection, theory development, and related intellectual debate, relative tranquillity follows the acceptance of the new dominant theory. During this tranquil period of majority acceptance of the now orthodox theory, dissenters are ignored or marginalized. Eventually, however, new data lead to another theoretical shift, and a new orthodoxy prevails.

If Friedman is correct about the rising Hayek tide of acceptance for free market economics, then in Kuhn's language, the revolution of new data unexplainable in orthodox Keynesian terms, was the existence in the 1970s of stagflation; that is, simultaneous inflation and recession. There is currently an intellectual debate about the rejection of the old orthodoxy, Keynesian interventionary policies, and a surgence of implementation of policies of the New Right. This may be the beginning of the new orthodoxy, in Kuhnsian terms, or the rising intellectual tide favoring free market economics, in Friedman's terms. Although writers on the left such as Teeple (1995) and Pannu (1996) disagree with New Right analysis about the desirability of this economic shift, they too recognize neoliberal global economic restructuring. For example, Teeple states that "neoliberal policies are the hallmark of the transition between two eras. They are the policy changes that will 'harmonize' the world" (p. 2).

King (1987) agrees with Friedman's notion of a longitudinal tide of acceptance for neoliberalism in the western world. King states "New Right ideas will shape political debate and public policy long after the demise of the Thatcher and Reagan administrations" (p. 26). Further, King's assumption has been verified at least in the short term. The defeat of Reagan and Thatcher has ushered in new governments which have co-opted the neoliberal policies of their predecessors. In Britain, the Labor Party, under the leadership of Tony Blair, has continued the Conservative policy of privatization and reduced spending on welfare programs: policies that could scarcely have been imagined acceptable by Labor in the decade of the 1980s (Branswell, 1998). In 1997 the British government considered a list of state assets worth $270 billion Can. for possible privatization. Prime Minister Tony Blair, leader of the traditionally socialist Labour Party, commenting on the Labor Party about face on privatization of national assets stated: "The presumption should be that economic activity is best left to the private sector, with market forces being encouraged to operate . . . What counts is what works ("Labor", 1997, p. F8).

With respect to the power of ideas, Hayek concurred with Friedman on the importance of ideas for the determination of policy (Ashford, 1993). He blamed socialism on intellectuals, journalists, writers, and artists who misinterpreted the position of labor as deteriorating after the Industrial Revolution. Hayek believed that when this incorrect analysis by intellectuals was popularized in the press, it influenced mainstream values toward the left for decades.

The importance of the role of ideas is however challenged by the Public Choice and Supply-side schools of the New Right who argue that individuals are influenced primarily by their interests. Muxlow (1997) states that generally "actors seek access to the policy network in order to influence policy in a manner consistent with their material interest or to defend their interests in current policy" (p. 5). Public Choice also emphasizes the interests of groups in policy deliberations. Politicians, bureaucrats and interest groups all advocate what is in their best interests and behave in ways congruent with group theory (Dye, 1992). Ashford (1993) suggests that the failure of the Nixon administration to implement free market policies was rooted in his failure to understand the constraints set by interest groups. For example, the downsizing of the civil service was constrained by the "new class" of educated professionals who had a direct vested interest in large government. Friedman and Friedman (1984) also believed that the limited achievements of the Reagan and Thatcher administrations were due to interest groups he described as "the iron triangle of beneficiaries, politicians and bureaucrats" (p. 166). For individuals, interest groups and coalitions of like minded people are the only practical way to make one's voice heard. The interest group provides the vehicle for participation in policy deliberations. For this reason, interest groups have a significant role and can be effective in policy determination.

The debate about the relative importance of ideas versus interests as the primary impetus for policy change is perhaps cyclical. Ideas do not exist unto themselves; individuals and groups promote ideas. Interest groups require an ideological underpinning to explain their world view. New Right ideology is the bedrock for the ideas which motivate recent internationalization of social policy. Interest groups debate in the political arena about the relative merit of ideas and justify the protection of their group interests. Keohane and Milner (1996) capture the interconnectedness of interests and ideas. They state that whereas political internationalization refers to the degree to which foreign policy agencies, ideas, and interest coalitions penetrate domestic politics, "the effects of internationalization are mediated through domestic political institutions" (p. 5). Therefore, New Right ideas are reflected in domestic political interests.

The role of both ideas and interests are evident in policy change in Alberta. A key respondent in this study, John Ballheim, President of DeVry College, emphasized the importance of ideas in the formulation of the new postsecondary policy in Alberta.

> I don't know if there are major players whose interests drive policy change. I think the government has an idea of what they want to do, and they lock on to concepts that are consistent with their predetermined thinking. So it may appear that certain individuals are influencing the government. I don't think it works quite that easily. Actually, the government has locked on to somebody who represents the ideas that the government wants represented.

Another key respondent, Dr. Stephen Murgatroyd, formerly of Athabasca University, discussed both ideas and interests in his discussion about the impetus for new degree programs in the Alberta college sector. With respect to the role of ideas, he stated "I think you should look essentially at the manifestoes, the political-ideological kind, of right-wing parties like the Republican party and the Progressive Conservatives and the Conservative party of Britain." Dr. Murgatroyd, however, also identified pressure from individuals with particular interests as an important impetus for policy change. He stated, for example, that

> Presidents of private institutions, that are seeking credential granting status, are putting pressure on the politicians. So pressure is coming from the bottom up in the sense that there is market pressure to create more degree granting institutions in Alberta.

Muxlow (1997) concurs that both ideas and interests play a role in policy change. He identifies two streams of literature employed by political scientists in analyzing policy: network analysis and international relations (IR) analysis. Muxlow suggests that the policy network denotes "the actors, their power relationships, and the intensity of interaction between state and societal groups focused on the policy issue" (p. 1). This explanation assumes that the policy network remains largely insulated from external pressures. The other stream, international relations literature, suggests that "features external to the policy network, such as internationalization pressures, act as the primary influence on policy" (p. 1). Essentially, Muxlow's discussion of policy as driven by networks versus the neoliberal pressures of internationalization mirrors the debate about the importance of ideas versus interests for policy development. Muxlow concludes that there is a bridge between the network and IR approaches. He states "Policy networks, and their corresponding internal configurations, act as intermediary structures through which internationalization pressures, whether interests or ideas, must pass" (p. 18).

An assumption of the researcher in the current study of postsecondary education change in Alberta is that Muxlow (1997) is correct in his conclusion that both ideas and interests are important in policy deliberations. The Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) model of policy change is utilized in this study precisely because it is able to incorporate the role of both ideas and interests in its analysis. Ideas are factored into the model in an examination of external pressures exogenous to the policy subsystem - that is, the underlying New Right ideology which affects the governing coalition. Interests are represented in the Sabatier model by the identification of constituent groups in opposing advocacy coalitions which promote their policy objectives in the political domain.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change

The approach that the current study adopts on the extension of degree conferring in postsecondary institutions of Alberta is the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) advocacy coalition framework (ACF) of policy change (see Figure 2.1). The strengths of this model include that it addresses (a) the importance of policy communities, (b) the importance of substantive policy information, (c) the role of policy elites, and (d) the need for longitudinal studies of at least a decade in duration. The ACF also incorporates useful aspects of group theory and elite theory identified earlier in the literature review.

The advocacy coalition approach to the study of the policy process views policy change over time as a function of three sets of factors: (a)the interaction of competing advocacy coalitions within a ***policy subsystem***. An advocacy coalition consists of actors from numerous public and private institutions and levels of government who share values about policy goals and who advocate the achievement of those policy goals. Conflict among competing advocacy coalitions is common and mediated by policy brokers who are more concerned with system stability than with achieving policy change; (b) changes in ***events external*** to the subsystem such as socio-economic change, changes in the system governing coalition, or policy decision impacts from other subsystems; and (c) the system effects of ***stable parameters*** such as social structure and constitutional context. The factors specify two sets of variables: interactions in the policy subsystem and the larger political and economic system in which the policy subsystem is embedded (stable system parameters and external events).

Sabatier states that the policy subsystem is the best unit of study for the analysis of policy change. Although there are many actors of diverse values in the policy subsystem, there needs to be a way to aggregate these actors into useful categories. The

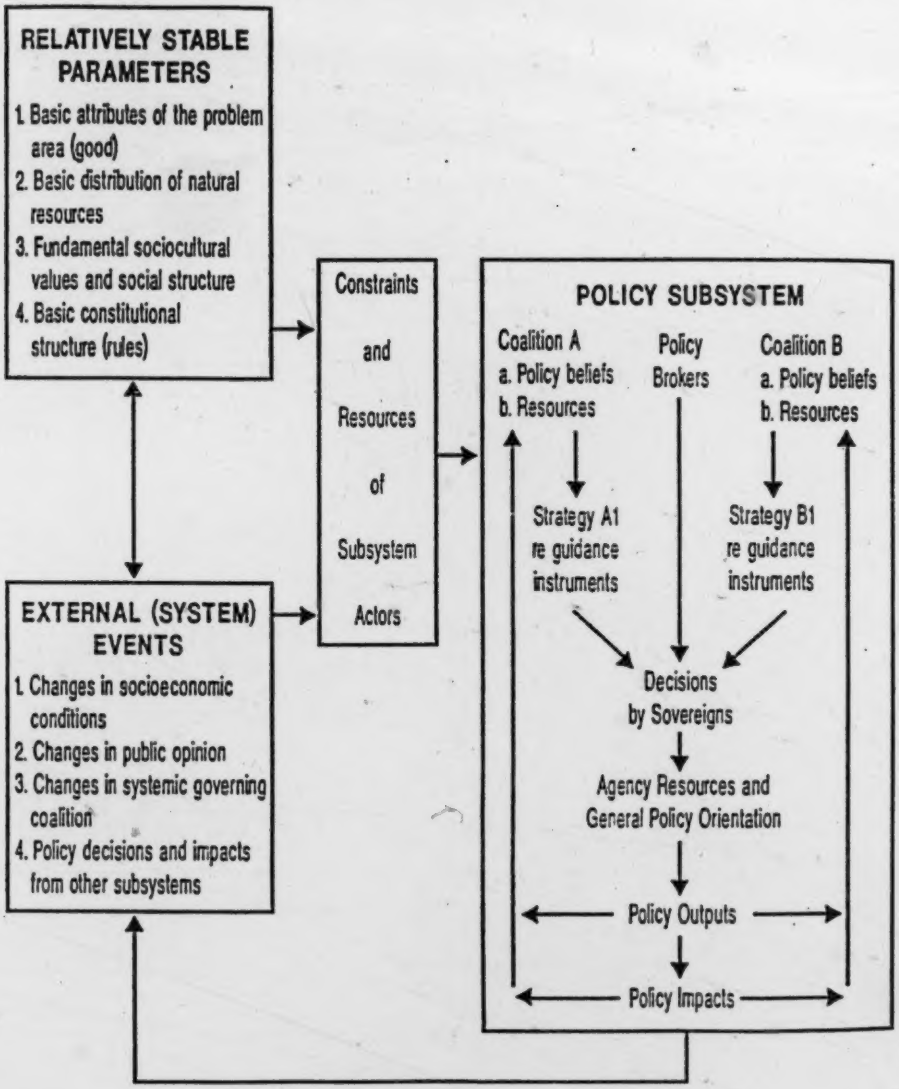
RELATIVELY STABLE PARAMETERS
1. Basic attributes of the problem area (good)
2. Basic distribution of natural resources
3. Fundamental sociocultural values and social structure
4. Basic constitutional structure (rules)
Constraints and Resources of Subsystem Actors
EXTERNAL (SYSTEM) EVENTS
1. Changes in socioeconomic conditions
2. Changes in public opinion
3. Changes in systemic governing coalition
4. Policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems
POLICY SUBSYSTEM
Coalition A
a. Policy beliefs
b. Resources
Policy Brokers
Coalition B
a. Policy beliefs
b. Resources
Strategy A1 re guidance instruments
Strategy B1 re guidance instruments
Decisions by Sovereigns
Agency Resources and General Policy Orientation
Policy Outputs
Policy Impacts

Figure 2.1

The Advocacy Coalition Framework of policy change.

Source: Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith (1993, p. 224). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

advocacy coalition satisfies this need. Sabatier (1988) defines the advocacy coalition as

> people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system - i.e., a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions - and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time. (p. 139)

An important contribution in subsystem analysis is the concept of policy-oriented learning, which suggests that changes in coalition positions result over time from interaction within the policy subsystem. Sabatier suggests that over short periods of time, that is, four to five years, many implementation studies prematurely judge program failure due to, among other reasons, resistance to implementation and inability of proponents to organize. Other studies, incorporating 10 to 15 year time spans, report successful implementation (Sabatier, 1986, p. 38). This suggests a process of policy learning as proponents of policy change find supportive constituencies and develop strategies for responding to program deficiencies.

Policy-oriented learning follows change in policy-oriented belief systems. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) suggests that advocacy coalition positions reflect the belief systems of elites within the policy subsystem. The belief system includes a set of dimensions of value that are related to policy issues. Those belief systems distinguish between "core" and "secondary" elements (see Table 2.1). Coalitions coalesce around common core beliefs, such as the proper scope of governmental or market activity. Because these core beliefs are stable over periods of a decade or more, coalitions are also stable. Coalitions seek to understand government interventions and attempt to realize their goals over time. Because of the strength of core beliefs, policy-oriented learning is usually confined to secondary belief systems such as administrative rules or budgetary allocations. This confirms Dye's (1992) suggestion that policy change is generally incremental as elites strive to maintain stability in the system. Sabatier theorizes that changes in core beliefs that precipitate significant policy change occur only with the replacement of a dominant coalition by another due to changes external to the subsystem.

Application of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

The Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) framework was applied in this study by identifying and examining two sets of variables: interactions in the policy subsystem and in the larger political and economic system in which the policy subsystem is embedded, that is, stable system parameters, and external events.

Table 2.1
The structure of the belief systems of policy elites

	Deep Core	Policy Core	Secondary Aspects
Defining characteristics	Fundamental normative and ontological axioms	Fundamental policy positions concerning the basic strategies for achieving core values within the subsystem.	Instrumental decisions and information searches necessary to implement policy core.
Scope	Across all policy subsystems.	Specific to a subsystem.	Specific to a subsystem.
Susceptibility to change	Very difficult; akin to a religious conversion.	Difficult, but can occur if experience reveals serious anomalies.	Moderately easy; this is the topic of most administrative and even legislative policymaking.
Illustrative components	1. The nature of man: i. Inherently evil vs. socially redeemable. ii. Part of nature vs. dominion over nature iii. Narrow egoists vs. contractarians. 2. Relative priority of various ultimate values: freedom, security, power, knowledge, health, love, beauty, etc. 3. Basic criteria of distributive justice: Whose welfare counts? Relative weights of self, primary groups, all people, future generations, nonhuman beings, etc.	Fundamental Normative Precepts: 1. Orientation on basic value priorities; 2. Identification of groups or other entities whose welfare is of greatest concern; Precepts with a Substantial Empirical Component 3. Overall seriousness of the problem; 4. Proper distribution of authority between government and market; 5. Proper distribution of authority among levels of government; 6. Priority accorded various policy instruments, (e.g., regulation, insurance, education, direct payments, tax credits); 7. Ability of society to solve the problem (e.g. zero-sum competition vs. potential for mutual accommodation; technological optimism vs. pessimism).	1. Seriousness of specific aspects of the problem in specific locales. 2. Importance of various causal linkages in different locales and over time. 3. Most decisions concerning administrative rules; budgetary allocations, disposition of cases, statutory interpretation, and even statutory revision. 4. Information regarding performance of specific programs or institutions.

Source: Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993, p. 221). Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

With respect to interactions in the policy subsystem where debate on the extension of degree conferring takes place, the assumptions of subsystem actors from public and private organizations were identified and compared. Then advocacy coalitions were identified and grouped according to similarity of subsystem actor assumptions and policy recommendations. The advocacy coalition actors, as reflected in preliminary data collection, include regional economic development advocates, regional political pressure groups demanding regional postsecondary education, Christian coalitions which demand Christian world-view postsecondary degree conferring programs, the public universities, and the ATA. Conflict among competing advocacy coalitions and policy brokers who are more concerned with system stability than with achieving policy change are identified. The competing advocacy coalitions, policy brokers, and government bureaucracies together constitute the policy subsystem.

Changes in events external to the subsystem such as socio-economic change (e.g., accumulation of public debt), changes in the system governing coalition (e.g., new premier and cabinet) and policy decision impacts from other subsystems (e.g., fiscal restraint in other government services and postsecondary change in other jurisdictions) are examined. Finally, the effects of stable system parameters such as the social structure and socio-economic values (e.g., governing ideology) and context are assessed.

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) suggests that advocacy coalition policy positions reflect the belief systems of elites within the policy subsystem; these belief systems are identified. Sabatier hypothesizes that changes in leadership and perturbations external to the subsystem can affect core beliefs and influence policy change. In Alberta, for example, a new provincial premier was elected, and his leadership changed government policy. Socio-economic changes in Alberta included falling resource revenues exacerbated by stable public expenditures and resultant government deficits. This fiscal difficulty may have effected a change in the attitude of the electorate and in the relative strength of competing advocacy coalitions. Finally, a significant change in the prevailing government ideology, which affects the near policy core of proper scope of government activity versus market activity, is evident in pronouncements and policies of the Klein government.

In summary, the advocacy coalition framework for the study of policy change is an effective model because it addresses the importance of policy communities and substantive policy information, the role of policy elites, and the value of longitudinal studies. The advocacy coalition framework also provides the opportunity to combine the assessment of a top-down legislated policy, the extension of degree conferring authority, with the bottom-up perspective of pressure group influence in policy implementation (Sabatier, 1986). Finally, the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) framework for analysis of policy change provides for an examination of the policy subsystem, its actors and divergent assumptions, and an analysis of the events external to the subsystem such as government/societal change and the role of ideology.

Summary

The literature review was divided into three sections. The first of these considered policy literature relevant to defining interest group pressures and elite theory influence on the political process. Then key aspects of New Right ideology were surveyed, and the effects of internationalization and globalization on policy were examined. Finally, the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) advocacy coalition framework (ACF) model for analysis of policy change was explained.

The literature on interest groups, elite theory, and political activity in the policy process is relevant to this study because a significant impetus for policy change is successful interest group pressure on policy makers. In group theory, a change in public policy follows a change in the relative strength of group influence on government. This study therefore examines the perceptions of individuals in the stakeholder interest groups affected by the policy change which extends degree conferring in Alberta.

The assumptions of New Right ideology were outlined because they are central to understanding international policy convergence pressures visible in the last two decades. The view that the market should be accorded a greater role in society has gradually become ideological orthodoxy. The market is replacing the state as the predominant rationale for public policy and this new rationale is increasingly becoming a shared value by which members of Western society interpret history and shape expectations for the future.

The values and beliefs of neoliberals and neoconservatives, and the economic theories of Friedman (1970), Hayek (1976, 1989), Keynes, Buchanan and Tullock (1962), Gilder ((1981), and Laffer, are the building blocks for understanding the philosophical and economic debate about prevailing New Right policy objectives. These authors were reviewed because their ideas are foundational for an understanding of the emerging New Right policy agenda. Current dominant policy goals including combating inflation, tax reduction, privatization, deregulation, public sector markets, and constitutional reform are all manifestations of the ideology of the New Right. The appearance in Alberta of these same policy goals can be attributed to the growing acceptance of these policies by individuals in society and by many governments of the West, especially since the electoral success of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.

A goal of this policy study is an examination of the probable causation of the Alberta policy change in degree conferring authority. Whereas international relations literature suggests that policy change is motivated by international pressures, the policy network literature indicates important local pressures for the impetus of policy change. Muxlow (1997), strikes a balance with his assertion that both internationalization of policy pressures and local interests are important causes of policy change.

This study employs the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) ACF model of policy change precisely because this framework is able to incorporate both international policy pressures and local policy network impetus for policy change. The ACF views policy change over time as a function of two sets of variables: interactions in the local policy subsystem and in the larger political and economic system in which the policy subsystem is embedded. Interests are represented in the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith model by identification of advocacy coalition pressure groups whose promotion of their policy objectives in the political domain represents interactions in the local policy subsystem. The larger political and economic system pressures exogenous to the Alberta policy subsystem are evident in prevailing ideology and international policy convergence pressures.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHOD

Introduction

The study employed strategies for qualitative inquiry presented by Patton (1990), who espouses inquiry that is naturalistic, holistic, descriptive of case, context sensitive, and empathically neutral. These strategies conform with the characteristics for naturalistic inquiry as identified by Lincoln and Guba (1985) including the importance of considering the natural setting or context, human instrumentation, utilization of tacit knowledge, purposive sampling, and a case study reporting mode.

The inquiry focused on two aspects of public policy in Alberta which extends degree conferring authority to postsecondary institutions. The first of these foci involved an historical examination of the development of postsecondary education in Alberta to ascertain the context of policy developments. The development of teacher education in Alberta, England, and the United States was reviewed to determine the place of teacher preparation in the growth of postsecondary education. This information was obtained from a review of documents and academic literature.

The second focus of the research entailed a case study of The King's University College, and the process whereby this institution obtained the authority to confer BEd degrees. This second phase of the research was informed primarily by interviews with key actors but was also supplemented by document review. Examination of the process by which a single institution, The King's University College, was able to obtain degree conferring authority provides an illustration of decentralization of degree conferring in the Alberta postsecondary context and exposes the perspectives of the key policy actors.

The King's University College was chosen as the subject of the case study for several reasons. First, it was one of the several degree conferring programs recently authorized about which there has been considerable debate. Second, the new degree program involved the preparation of teachers, my chosen profession. Finally, this institution is located in Edmonton and was easily accessible.

Assumptions of the Researcher

Ontologically, I am a critical realist. While it may be difficult if not impossible for humans to perceive the world with imperfect sensory and intellectual tools, from my perspective a "reality" exists. Though the researcher and respondents cannot be sure that truth has been uncovered, reality exists independent of perception. I am persuaded by the relativist belief that respondents create multiple mental constructions of social reality and that these are negotiated but I think that there may be a distinction between what a person believes and what is true. While respondents constructions of social reality are important, interesting and necessary to our understanding of events, reality exists independent of personal construction.

While data collected from human respondents may depict their beliefs, those beliefs may not necessarily be accurate. For example, in my preliminary discussions about the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to Alberta private colleges, more than one respondent mentioned that no policy change of this magnitude could have been possible without the support of Deputy Minister of Education Reno Bosetti. When Bosetti publicly disagreed with the devolution of BEd degree conferring to private colleges these same respondents questioned his honesty. Critical realists believe that there is a truth about Bosetti's role or nonrole in the extension of BEd degree conferring process. He cannot have been both in favor and opposed to the policy change unless one accepts a relativist ontology of different respondent constructions. Irrespective of my belief about Bosetti's role or whether or not I am ever able with certainty to discover the truth about his role, as a critical realist, I believe that there is an objective truth. Still, it is valuable to our understanding of the policy process to find that respondents see him is such a different light. To reiterate, as a foundational assumption, critical realism supports the existence of an independent reality, however difficult this may be to discover.

Epistemolgically, I accept that it is difficult if not impossible to be objective. I recognize that researcher and respondent influence one another. However, my effort was not to transform the respondents with whom I interacted. My goal as researcher was to understand the policy process from the perspective of the respondents. I believe that a researcher should respect and understand respondent beliefs and perceptions, and should work at remaining unobtrusive even if this is difficult. While inquiry is always value bound, as a researcher I exposed to respondents my tentative understanding of the policy change, the analytical framework I was using, and my working assumptions outlined below. I expected that by exposing my values and assumptions to the respondents I could assist them and the readers of this document to better understand the findings and conclusions reached.

My explicit working assumptions and values included the following:

1. That the devolution of BEd degree conferring authority to private colleges in Alberta is part of a trend evident in British Columbia and postsecondary change in other jurisdictions.

2. That the extension of degree conferring authority to colleges is probably advantageous for student consumers of postsecondary programs as smaller institutions can be more readily responsive and provide better accessibility.

3. That change, of which the proliferation of degree conferring programs is an example, is both inevitable and desirable in society. Change forces one to question comfortable assumptions and challenges us to improve.

4. That the perceptions of the stakeholders in public and private postsecondary institutions, the ATA and the Alberta civil service are valid data sources for examining,
   a) the nature of the extension of BEd degree conferring authority, and
   b) the factors affecting the devolution process.

5. That institutional spokespersons would provide candid interview data and written documents that accurately described institutional perspectives, and that institutions would cooperate to have their story told.

6. That there is multiple causation for the extension of BEd programs. Therefore, I can only establish plausible inferences for causation.

My critical realist perspective views perception and objectivity are problematic, and necessitates collection of multiple sources of data to establish independent corroboration of respondent stories. The current study utilizes as data collection strategies interviews with key participants of the policy development process, a review of historical and contextual documents important for understanding the current policy change, and analysis of primary documents collected from the stakeholders.

Data Collection Strategies

As indicated above, the study employed two data collection strategies. Documents were reviewed from the relevant respondent organizations pertaining to new program development, applications for degree conferring authority, position papers on program extension, annual reports, and minutes of pertinent meetings. These organizations include The King's University College, the Private Colleges Accreditation Board of Alberta, the Alberta Department of Advanced Education and Career Development, the Alberta Teachers' Association, and the independent evaluators of the proposed King's BEd program.

The second strategy for data collection was the interview. Document analysis and initial interview data informed the development of additional data collection. Interviews were requested with key actors in the identified organizations. Interview participants were briefed about the nature of the research. Respondents consented to allow me to identify them and their perceptions of the policy process whereby The King's University College attained BEd degree conferring authority. While respondents were offered confidentiality if they so desired, only civil servant respondents so requested. After informed consent was obtained, interviews with key respondents were audio recorded and transcribed.

Interviews

Mawhinney (1994b), argues that policy studies have a methodological "requirement to gather narratives from policy actors, many of whom are political elites" (p. 29). Guba and Lincoln (1981, p. 187) similarly support the interview as it is virtually the only data collection strategy that provides access to "elites." The respondents chosen for the current study were representative of the "elites" who had direct influence on the emerging public policy that extends BEd degree conferring in Alberta. They were also sometimes the source of documents for analysis and provided the perspectives of the various stakeholders in the policy process. Interview respondents included (a) five former representatives of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB), including four former board members, of which two were former chairs, and one senior administrator of the PCAB; (b) three professors from public universities who were directly involved in the policy development process; (c) two professors of education and one administrator from private colleges who were directly involved in the policy development process; (d) three senior members of the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA) who were also directly involved in the extension of degree conferring process as ATA lobbyists; and (e) senior civil service respondents from the departments of Alberta Education and Alberta Advanced Education (who requested confidentiality).

Interviews with the personnel listed above provided the respondents' historical perspectives on critical incidents of the policy process for as Patton (1990) explained:

> we cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions . . . the purpose of interviewing then is to allow us to enter the other person's perspective. Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable and able to be made explicit. (p. 278)

A semistructured interview schedule provided a flexible guide to probe issues appropriate to the respondents' experiences. Merriam (1988, p. 86) suggests that semistructured interviews provide comparatively valid data. This method permits the interview conversation to be redirected and new inquiry to emerge from interview data. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982) semistructured interviews,

> although relatively open ended, are focused around particular topics or may be guided by some general questions. Even when an interview guide is employed, qualitative interviews offer the interviewer considerable latitude to pursue a range of topics and offer the subject a chance to shape the content of the interview. (p. 136)

Patton (1990) calls this type of interview the general interview guide approach. The interview guide provides topics within which the interviewer is free to probe. The interviewer is free to converse, and question spontaneously within the predetermined focus area. Patton suggests that the interview guide provides for efficient and systematic data collection by delimiting in advance what issues are to be explored.

The preliminary goals of the interviews in the study included exploration of the following issues:

1. What was the impetus for the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to The King's University College?

2. Who were the key actors in the extension of BEd degree authority to The King's University College?

3. What roles did these key actors play in the process?

4. What was the position of individuals in the focal organizations with respect to the prospect of granting degree conferring authority to postsecondary institutions other than the universities?

5. What role did the PCAB play in the approval of the new degree programs? What were the key considerations of the PCAB?

6. Has the decision to extend BEd degree conferring authority to The King's University College had any impact on existing BEd programs in the public universities or affected the prognosis of potential public college baccalaureate programs?

Questions 1 to 3 were intended to identify the constituent membership of the advocacy coalitions. Questions 4 and 5 were intended to probe the assumptions and values of the key actors in the policy change. The assumptions of stakeholders were subjected to a modification of Dunn's (1981) assumptional analysis. Respondent values and belief systems were examined to ascertain whether the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) model (ACF) for the study of policy change was appropriate for this case study.

Finally, Question 6 probed the potential impact of the implementation of the extension of BEd degree conferring on public university programs and/or potential degree conferring programs in the public colleges of Alberta.

The Case Study

The case study method was used because of its strength in providing insight and understanding from the perspectives of the respondents (Merriam, 1988). Guba and Lincoln (1981) define the general purpose of the case study as "to reveal the properties of the class to which the instance being studied belongs" (p. 371). The use of a case study approach also provided a more holistic understanding of the Alberta public policy that has extended degree conferring authority. Patton (1990) states that the holistic approach allows for the gathering of "data on multiple aspects of the setting under study in order to assemble a comprehensive and complete picture of the social dynamic of a particular situation" (p. 50).

Guba and Lincoln (1981) identify as strengths that the case study (a) provides thick description necessary for persons in other settings to evaluate the fittingness of the case in their context; (b) is grounded and therefore provides an experiential perspective; (c) is holistic, lifelike and credible; (d) simplifies the range of data that one is asked to consider; (e) focuses the reader's attention and illuminates meaning; and (e) builds on the tacit knowledge of its readers (pp. 375-376).

The underlying assumptions of the current case study are that the inquiry is naturalistic, qualitative, and "soft-deductive" or it provides the opportunity to supplement theoretical expectations with inductive observations (Muxlow, 1997). By naturalistic it is meant that the inquiry employs direct contact between respondents and the investigator to ascertain the historical and political contexts of the extension of degree conferring policy in Alberta. By qualitative is meant that the inquiry sought to understand the behavior and experience of the respondents from their own frames of reference (Merriam, 1988). To allow for data collection which could be responsive to the contexts and frames of reference of the respondents, it was necessary to utilize emergent strategies in the design, albeit within a theoretical framework (ACF).

Analysis of the Data

As indicated above in the discussion of the case study, both inductive and deductive analysis were utilized in this study. Although this might appear to be a contradiction, Patton (1990, p. 46) suggests that, in practice, both inductive and deductive analysis are often combined. My initial exploratory work on the extension of degree conferring was inductive. It led to the identification of relevant questions and variables for examination. Then data were compared for "fit" with other models, and the choice was made to "orient" data analysis to the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) for studying policy change. Utilizing the ACF model gives the study a deductive orientation. Patton (1990) describes "orientational" (p. 86) qualitative studies as aimed at confirmation and elucidation, and suggests that the term orientational is more neutral than ideological inquiry. Similar to an orientational perspective is Muxlow's (1997) use of the term "soft-deductive" to describe a research approach in which expectations are based on an existing model, in this case the ACF, but also supplemented by inductive observations.

Reflection on early data collection allowed a shift from a general to a more specific or orientational focus. Owens (1982, p. 12) similarly explains this process as ongoing analysis enabling data collection to become focused. Data collection and analysis then became a deductive confirming of the analytical model, in this case the ACF (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993) to explain findings. Finally, analysis again became inductive as the data were examined for evidence of rival hypotheses and thematic findings. With respect to these rival hypotheses, Maxwell (1996) explains that the data collection process

> will probably go through a lengthy period of focusing and revision, even in a carefully designed study, to make sure that they are providing the data that you need to answer your research questions and to address any plausible validity threats to these answers. (p. 75)

Validity threats are alternate explanations about research conclusions. Maxwell (1996, p. 88) argues that to guard against validity threats, the researcher should provide for member checks of transcribed interviews and pay close attention to discrepant data or alternative explanations. In this study, I requested member checks whenever direct quotations of interview data were used, and to ascertain the respondents' perceptions of the research findings. While some disagreement was evident on details of the analysis and details about presentation of data, respondents on both sides of the policy debate generally supported the analytical framework and explanation of the policy development process.

One analytic technique, assumptional analysis, identified by Dunn (1981, pp. 130-133), emphasizes the identification of stakeholders' assumptions about policy problems. Dunn intended this method to provide focus on common assumptions by various stakeholders and thereby find areas for consensus. In this study, however, the motive was to identify stakeholders' complementary or conflicting assumptions. Probing stakeholder assumptions provides an opportunity to group the respondents in competing advocacy coalitions and to identify their belief systems. In this study, a modified assumptional analysis involved the following procedures: (a) stakeholder identification - The stakeholders, individuals or groups who have a stake in policy or issue resolution because they affect and are affected by government decisions, are identified and assessed of the degree to which they influence or are influenced by the policy process; (b) assumption surfacing - The analyst works backwards from respondent recommendations to the underlying assumptions; and (c) values synthesis - The recommendations generated by stakeholders are pooled. The goal is to produce a list of values representative of the competing stakeholder advocacy coalitions. The composite set of assumptions and values may serve as the basis for a new conceptualization of the policy problem.

The strength of assumptional analysis is that it provides a method to identify stakeholder recommendations for policy development, discover underlying assumptions of the stakeholders, and thereby construct the advocacy coalitions in the policy subsystem. In understanding the composition of the advocacy coalitions and the assumptions of the members of these coalitions, the researcher could identify value conflicts in the "ill-structured" policy problem of extension of degree conferring authority. An ill-structured policy problem is defined by Dunn (1981, pp. 104-105) as involving many decision makers whose values are difficult to rank. Additionally, in an ill-structured policy problem such as the extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta, there is no apparent consensus among stakeholders, only conflict and competing goals.

Enhancing Credibility

Credibility in qualitative inquiry depends on three elements: rigor of data collection and analysis, credibility of the researcher, and orientational assumptions of the study. With respect to credibility of the researcher, Patton (1990) states that it is the duty of the researcher to "report any personal and professional information that may have effected data collection, analysis, and interpretation" (p. 472). In this study, before each interview, I disclosed my assumptions and understanding of the policy development process so that the respondents could better understand my perspective and the goals of the research. Methodological assumptions have been addressed above. A discussion of rigor in data collection and analysis follows.

Internal validity. Maxwell (1996) states that validity "depends on the relationship of your conclusions to the real world" and further that validity refers to the "credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation" (pp. 86-87). Tikunoff and Ward(1980) judges the validity of naturalistic research thus: "The study is valid if it describes what actually is - what occurred, what conditions existed, what interactions took place" (p. 277).

Two main procedures were employed to establish credibility in this study. First, attempts were made to confirm the interview data with independent corroboration or triangulation of data sources (Patton, 1990, p. 467). Second, member checks were undertaken. Interviews were transcribed, and the respondents were requested to verify pertinent interview transcriptions and to make clarifications about data included in the final report of this study. Guba and Lincoln (1982) state that the crucial question for naturalistic research is, "Do the data sources (most often humans) find the inquirer's analysis, formulation, and interpretations to be credible (believable)?" (p. 246). Every effort was made with member checks to assure the veracity and interpretation of quotations.

External validity. Generalizability on the basis of a single case study is difficult because case "problems emerge within particular time and space boundaries" (Patton, 1990, p. 156). Although generalizability beyond the immediate setting is often not the goal of the case study, Maxwell (1996) states that qualitative studies often have "face generalizability" (p. 97); that is, there is no obvious reason not to believe that the results apply more generally. With respect to external validity, Cronbach, (as cited in Patton, 1990), presents the concept of extrapolations which "are modest speculations on the likely applicability of findings to other situations under similar, but not identical conditions" (p. 489). Lincoln and Guba (1990, pp. 57-58) also provide support for transferability from case studies.

However, it is the readers of the case study who must make the decision as to whether the case study data apply in their context (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p. 116). With respect to generalizability, Wilson (1979) proposed a continuum of usefulness starting in the setting where the data were collected and decreasing in utility as applied to increasingly dissimilar settings. This study provides description and contextual data to assist the reader to evaluate whether or not there are enough similarities to the focal case to provide for extrapolation or tranferability of this case study to their context.

Reliability. The purpose of reliability is to determine the extent to which the findings of the study could be replicated (Merriam, 1988, p. 170). Although reliability is difficult to establish in qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that scrutineers of research consider the "dependability" (p. 288) of results. That is, instead of requiring that other researchers obtain identical results, others could however agree that the data collected are consistent with the conclusions reported.

Guba and Lincoln (1981) state that: "Since it is impossible to have internal validity without reliability, a demonstration of internal validity amounts to a simultaneous demonstration of reliability" (p. 120). This study used the methodological techniques of source triangulation, member checks, and direct quotation grounded in the data to enhance the validity and reliability of the research findings. Stake (1995) states that triangulation of sources is needed to confirm data critical for assertions and key interpretations. Guba and Lincoln (1982) state that confirmability of data is enhanced by demonstrating that findings can be traced back through analysis to the original data. Therefore, member checks of pertinent transcript data ensured the accuracy of quotations and interpretations. Finally, frequent quotations and in-text references are provided in the presentation of the findings to demonstrate that analysis is grounded in the data and that the data can be independently corroborated (or source triangulated).

Ethical Considerations

The study adheres to the University of Alberta's policy on ethics in human research and satisfied a formal Faculty of Education ethics review panel. Specifically, the study complied with the following guidelines:

1. The interview respondents provided informed and voluntary consent and were able to withdraw from the study at any time.

2. The respondents were provided confidentiality if they so requested.

3. Consent was obtained from the respondents when direct quotations from the interview data were used in the presentation of the findings.

CHAPTER 4
THE CONTEXT OF TEACHER EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter presents the longitudinal context of postsecondary change in Alberta. It begins with a description of the political context of Alberta which influences the postsecondary policy environment and identifies policy manifestations of New Right ideology in Alberta. A survey of the development of teacher education and postsecondary institutions in Alberta, including a profile of The King's University College, is provided. Finally, a discussion of the trends in convergence of teacher education programs in England, the United States, and Canada follows.

The Political Context in Alberta

Since 1935 Alberta has had conservative governments strongly influenced by the values of Protestant fundamentalism and free market capitalism. The long serving Social Credit Premier Ernest Manning, whose party ruled the province from 1935-1971, led a coalition of Christian fundamentalists, businessmen and small town conservatives until the oil boom changed the face of Alberta. The resultant rapid petrochemical development and urbanization of the 1960s created a modern province with urban expectations and a new urban locus of influence in the government. The Social Credit Party was swept from power in 1971 by the Progressive Conservative Party led by Peter Lougheed.

Peter Lougheed utilized the rhetoric of free market capitalism but significantly expanded government investment in the economy with state acquisition of an airline, and communication and petro-chemical investments. The oil boom continued and expanded during the administration of Lougheed. Vast oil revenues flowed into the provincial coffers, and government spending burgeoned. Murphy (1995) reported that during the Lougheed regime, "urban liberals were seduced by concert halls, theatres, and modern communications, while rural Alberta was paved with asphalt, hospitals, and seniors' lodges" (p. 316). In the early 1980s, the boom ended and oil revenues collapsed. Peter Lougheed resigned and was replaced by Premier Don Getty. Government spending continued, now financed by deficits.

During the period of Progressive Conservative political hegemony, the party has had three premiers: Peter Lougheed (1971-85), Don Getty (1985-92), and Ralph Klein (1992-98). Each successive premier moved public policy further to the right. The Lougheed administration financed a great expansion of public works, including the decentralization of postsecondary education begun in the 1960s. The Getty administration began to cut government expenditures when oil revenue plummeted. When Getty resigned in 1992, the leadership succession battle between Ralph Klein and Nancy Betkowski represented an ideological split in the Conservative Party. The eventual winner, Klein, moved the party still further to the right.

Betkowski drew significant support from party insiders and party members in Edmonton. As Minister of Health, Betkowski planned to create regional Health Boards. Rural MLAs, who felt that they had not been adequately consulted, feared the closure of rural hospitals. Rural MLAs felt uneasy about Betkowski as leader and threw their support behind Klein. Klein, the former mayor of Calgary, whose support came from the Calgary business community, added a network of rural MLAs to his leadership campaign organization. Betkowski led on the first ballot, but Klein won the leadership on the second ballot. Klein's victory over Betkowski signaled a shift in the Progressive Conservative party direction in which "the urban liberal intellectual leadership and the rural lieutenants had been upstaged by a far right coalition of libertarian conservatives and religious fundamentalists" (Murphy, 1995, p. 317). Klein rewarded the rural MLAs who were crucial to his leadership victory by introducing a new committee system in the Alberta Legislative Assembly which consolidated the position of the backbench MLAs.

The coalition which brought Klein to the leadership of the Progressive Conservative Party consisted of neoliberal business interests centered in Calgary and the neoconservative grass roots of rural Alberta. Harrison (1995) similarly describes the Klein government as "heavily pro-market/pro-business on economic matters, traditionally conservative on such things as law and order and morality" (p. 57). For the neoliberals, big government and big government spending needed to be rolled back and privatized. The neoconservatives who supported Klein distrusted the urban middle class; the media and educated bureaucrats, who they believed emphasized cultural relativism; technocratic management, and supported moral leadership over tolerance. From both of these elements, neoliberal and neoconservative, the Klein government found support for the reduction of spending and government programs. The neoconservatives targeted public education and the ATA. The neoliberals targeted significant reduction in government spending. This apparently odd coalition of economic liberals and moral conservatives has been increasingly prevalent, particularly in England and the United States, and has been likened to "hitching the neoconservative cart to the neoliberal horse" (Carl, 1994, p. 300).

Betkowski's resignation from the Alberta legislature after her leadership defeat cut the Klein government's last links with the Lougheed era of expansive state fiscal power. The new Klein government, a coalition of neoconservatives and neoliberals, exploited Alberta's fiscal problems as the rationale to implement New Right ideological solutions in Alberta. The Klein government launched a new generation of cabinet members, including neoconservative Stockwell Day and neoliberal Steve West.

Christian fundamentalism had long been a prominent political force in Alberta during the Social Credit governments, but its influence waned during the Lougheed and Getty administrations. However, the Progressive Conservative loss of seats in Calgary and complete elimination in Edmonton, coupled with the significant role played by rural MLAs in Klein's leadership race victory, brought new prominence to the rural MLAs. Stockwell Day, MLA for Red Deer since 1986, had been an administrator of a private Christian school and spokesman for the Alberta Association of Independent Church Schools. Day supported capitalism and family values, while opposing welfare, working mothers, birth control education, and employment equity. In 1992 Day became Minister of Labour, where he was able to advance his anti-union philosophy.

Steve West was elected in 1986; he sat in the backbench for one term before entering the cabinet as the Minister of Parks. West quickly downsized his department. He cut staff by 70%, increased user fees, and privatized management of 15 parks by 1992. From there West became Solicitor General, where he again implemented budget cuts and quickly received a reputation as being tough on inmates and young offenders. After less than a year as Solicitor General, West became Minister of Municipal Affairs. He reduced the budget from $598 million in 1993-94 to $318 million in 1996-97. West also cut staff by 47% and reduced all municipal grants to one unconditional block grant of 50% in the three-year business plan. In 1994 West became Minister of Transportation and was charged with dismantling the patronage system (Murphy, 1995, p. 320).

In summary, the political context in Alberta, during both the Social Credit and Progressive Conservative governments of the past six decades, was strongly influenced by the values of Protestant fundamentalism and free market capitalism. During the Lougheed leadership, these values were moderated by an oil revenue rich administration influenced by an urban focus. Since Klein has become Premier, the government has refocused on the traditional values of rural fundamentalism, and the policies of the Klein government have shifted sharply toward the neoliberal right. Cabinet ministers in the Klein government, such as neoliberal Steve West and neoconservative Stockwell Day, are representative of the prevailing elements of the political coalition.

Public policy and New Right ideology in Alberta

The following section presents a review of the economic ideas of the New Right, including those of Friedman (1970), Hayek (1976, 1989), Public Choice advocates, and supply-siders, whose theories are manifest in policy implemented by the Alberta administration. The Klein government consists of a coalition of neoliberal and neoconservative elements, and although some manifestations of neoconservative values can be identified, most New Right policy objectives of the government are neoliberal in orientation. Denis (1995) identifies the dominant values of the Klein government as "economic freedom and efficiency" (p. 91). Specific Alberta policy initiatives will be presented in the policy domains of taxation, deficit reduction, privatization, deregulation, public sector competition, and constitutional reform.

Influence of New Right theoreticians (whose economic ideas are exposed more fully in Chapter 2 of this thesis) including Friedman, Hayek, Public Choice advocates, and supply-siders are evident in the policy objectives of the Alberta government. Friedman's belief in the failure of fiscal intervention and faith in the tax reduction to spur economic activity can be seen in the Klein administration's policy to reduce government services and taxes. The influence of supply-siders is also evident in the reduction of Alberta income taxes, property taxes, and royalty taxes. From the influence of Hayek, a hostile attitude to the labor movement and, in this case, the Alberta Teacher's Association is evident.

The influence of Public Choice concepts in Alberta is particularly evident. The Public Choice belief that government has grown larger than the public supports has contributed to public pressure in Alberta to eliminate budgetary deficits, a downsizing of the government bureaucracy, and a reduction of consultation with interest groups whose interests Public Choice advocates believe conflict with those of the taxpayer. Public Choice also champions decentralization and provision for individuals to move to other jurisdictions to create competition for consumers of public services. This manifestation of decentralized choice is evident in Alberta since "fiscal equity" was implemented for public education in 1994. Since then consumers of public education services in Alberta were for the first time enabled to choose schools for their children, irrespective of their domicile, without financial penalty. This new system of school finance created real choice for consumers by in effect creating a voucher system for public education in Alberta. The provision by the government of degree conferring authority for the private colleges can also be viewed as decentralized access in adult education. In addition, private colleges provide for greater choice in postsecondary programs, promote innovation and competition, and provide for increased student places in postsecondary education at minimal cost to the public purse.

Neoconservative elements of the government have been somewhat successful in bringing focus to their moral agenda. Several examples can be illustrated, including support for capital punishment, a tough attitude on youth crime, opposition to human rights protection for gays, moral scrutiny for funding for culture and the arts, and opposition to legalized gambling at video lottery terminals (VLTs) in Alberta. With respect to crime, Ralph Klein has advocated a reinstatement of the death penalty (Denis, 1995, p. 96), and for a strengthening of penalties for young offenders (*Edmonton Journal*, April 20, 1994, p. A5). The Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Alberta Human Rights Commission have been denounced over rulings made which have protected gay and lesbian sexual orientation, decisions which run counter to conservative Christian morality (*Edmonton Journal*, September 11, 1994, p. A10). On this same issue, the Alberta government has refused to protect sexual orientation in Human Rights Legislation, and Diane Mirosh, then Minister of Culture and Multiculturalism, in 1993 denounced a display of lesbian art at the Banff Centre, a government supported school of fine arts (Melnyk, 1995, p. 265).

A final current area of policy which has brought a contentious debate from neoconservative ranks has been the existence of VLTs and their growing importance as a source of revenue for the government. Whereas neoconservatives object to the social and moral costs of allowing legal gambling in every corner of the province, neoliberal elements in the government defend the use of VLTs in the name of freedom and the government's need for revenue. Because the Klein government has refused to respond to criticism of VLTs, many municipalities have decided to hold referenda during municipal elections in the fall of 1998 and let the electorate decide whether or not to request that the government remove VLTs from their municipalities.

In spite of these manifestations of neoconservative morality in the pronouncements of the Klein government, significant policy shifts of the government reflect neoliberal economic goals. With respect to taxation policy, Alberta is the only province in Canada that has no provincial sales tax and has long boasted the lowest income taxes and corporate taxes in Canada. The government is determined to keep the cost of services away from income taxes and recover service costs through user fees. The 1998 budget called for a reduction in income taxes of $123 million, and a tax reform commission is currently studying taxation options behind closed doors (Lisac, 1998c).

The general low level of taxes has been utilized aggressively to attract business and is championed as the "Alberta advantage."

Property taxes for schools levy are also falling. In Alberta public school finance, there was a long tradition of financial support by provincial tax revenues and local property taxes. In response to the inability of tax-poor districts to compete in education expenditure with districts that had high levels of business and corporate tax bases, the provincial government in 1994 began pooling all property taxes and then equalizing school revenues with per pupil funding following the student. Since the advent of school finance reform called "fiscal equity", there has been a reduction in the mill rate for education in local property taxes for five straight years (Harasemchuk, 1998). Elected school boards, who have had their autonomy clipped by school district amalgamation, the arrival of school councils and the new equity finance regime which removes their taxation power, have complained about the reduction in both total education funding and the lowering of the education mill rate. Not surprisingly, little support from the public has been evident for school boards' position against a decrease in property taxes.

In response to critics who suggest that Alberta could support more public spending with higher taxation revenues, members of the Klein government have retorted that "Alberta has a spending problem, not a revenue problem" and have used other clichés like "there is a need to streamline government and trim administration by cutting the layers of fat" (Lisac, 1995, p. 180). About half the province's annual budget went to paying salaries in schools, colleges, universities, the health system, and municipalities. These personnel and their salaries became the target. The ax fell with the Klein government's first budget. The deficit in the first year of the Klein government (1992-93) was $3.4 billion (Lisac, 1995, p. 189). Under the direction of Provincial Treasurer Jim Dinning, spending was reduced, and deficits were eliminated. Budget surpluses (deficits) in millions of dollars for the Dinning Treasury years (1993-97) and for the Treasurer Stockwell Day budget (1997-98) follow (Chase, 1998, p. A1).

Table 4.1

Alberta government annual budget surpluses in $ millions (deficits in brackets).

1992-93	(3,400)
1993-94	(1,384)
1994-95	958
1995-96	1,132
1996-97	2,527
1997-98	2,639

By law, the Alberta government is compelled to allocate budget surpluses for provincial debt reduction. Although the Balanced Budget and Debt Retirement Act (1996) does not satisfy the constitutional amendment against running deficits that the Chicago monetarists and the Public Choice school advocates, this legislation, introduced by the Klein government, achieves a similar result. The Balanced Budget and Debt Retirement Act compels the Alberta government to apply all government surpluses toward reduction of the provincial debt (Section 6) and establishes a schedule for debt reduction at $450 million per fiscal year beginning in 1996-97 (Section 13[2]). Because of high taxation revenues accruing to the government from oil and gas royalties, combined with fiscal restraint by the province, in the first two years of the schedule, the Alberta government retired in excess of $5 billion in provincial debt (Chase, 1998). By this action the Alberta government demonstrated plainly their aversion to public spending even when they were fiscally able and the government's steadfast ideological commitment to debt reduction. Advocates of fiscal restraint in Alberta point to the elimination of the annual deficit and the retirement of provincial debt as a worthwhile tradeoff for the loss of government funded jobs and resultant labor unrest.

A significant government strategy for reducing the budget, privatization, was championed in the Klein government by Steve West, who argued in the provincial legislative assembly that "there isn't a government operation, a government business, a Crown corporation that is as efficient as the private sector, and indeed they're 20 to 40 percent less efficient" (*Alberta Hansard,* March 15, 1994). In a speech to a privatization symposium, in November 1997, Steve West stated that the government had cut 12,000 staff of which he was personally responsible for 40% (West, 1997, p. 12). In ministries under his control, West and his government colleagues have privatized (a) registries including motor vehicle administration, driver's licenses, vehicle registration, corporate registry, personal property registry, vital statistics, birth, death and marriage certificates, land titles and searches, and 120 others; (b) ACCESS television, CKUA radio station, and information technology functions in municipal affairs, transportation, utilities and registries; (c) liquor sales, stores and warehousing; (d) highway engineering, design and construction, and highway maintenance; and (e) 70,000 government properties for $1.8 billion, a loss of $2.5 billion. West has personally closed the Alberta Liquor Control Board, privatized liquor sales, and slashed Economic Development and Tourism personnel from over 1000 staff positions to 113. With respect to privatization "don'ts," West said "Don't move slowly. It allows your opponents time to mount their campaigns" and "Don't listen to vested interest groups . . . Get rid of them" (p. 12).

In those areas of the public sector which cannot be privatized, competition is encouraged. Competition has the effect of increasing cost effectiveness in public sector markets. For example, at the time of writing, private schools provide education at about half the cost to the public purse of public schools. Critics of funding for private schools in the name of choice argue that this amounts to the privatization of parts of the public education system as some attenders of the public system of education move to the private schools. As private schools achieve more public funding, the distinction between private and public education becomes blurred, and their relationship becomes one of public sector competition.

Another aspect of public sector competition is evident as bureaucrats are provided incentives for achieving budgetary reductions. Pam Barrett, New Democrat leader, recently criticized what she calculated as a 60% raise for 17 deputy ministers with the announcement of their salary hike to $125,000 per annum, with additional bonus pay of 20% (Arnold, 1998b). Three quarters of the bonus pay is linked to overall government achievement and only one quarter for achievement and cost reductions in the deputy minister's department (Lisac, 1998a). Treasurer Stockwell Day defended the salary hike and performance bonuses as required to keep their best staff. The bonus pay is certainly incentive for deputy ministers to cut staff. It creates public sector competition among bureaucrats to reduce overall spending and runs counter to the traditional bureaucratic behavior of empire building.

With respect to the New Right policy goal of deregulation, the Alberta provincial government is moving to deregulate construction of electric plants and the sale of electricity in Alberta electric utility industry. The government has argued that the current system of electric utility production protects an inefficient monopoly, which is not innovative and is expensive for consumers (Chambers & Avery, 1998). It remains to be seen if deregulation of the electric utility will bring consumer prices down, but the advocates of deregulation expect that investors will provide new plants and the resultant competition will bring costs down.

The same arguments about monopoly problems in the electric utilities are made against the labour movement. The New Right policy goal of deregulation fosters antagonism with labor and is evident in discussions emanating from the government which propose weakening the ATA, their most vociferous opponent of both public education funding cutbacks and extension of BEd programs in the private colleges. For example, in February of 1995 a motion was placed on the order paper of the provincial legislature to establish a committee to study the feasibility of splitting the ATA into a professional association and a union. Also in February of 1995 Bill 210, a proposal to make membership in the ATA optional instead of compulsory was introduced. Bill 210 was supported by Alberta Chamber of Commerce when it presented its education policies to the Standing Policy Committee on Education and Training (Russell, 1997). Bill 210 was defeated in May of 1995. During that same month Bill 233 was introduced, a proposal to implement provincial bargaining for teachers, to remove their right to strike, and to remove school administrators from the ATA. This bill also failed. Bill 57, the Delegated Administration Act, which was introduced in October 1994 and allowed to die on the order paper, had the potential to privatize many government programs including teacher certification, a professional service which the ATA has long aspired to attain. Finally, private member's Bill 219, introduced in March of 1998, reintroduced the elements of Bill 233. Although none of these actions were successful, the fact that they were deliberated in the Alberta legislature indicates a significant presence in the government of members who oppose the ATA and its publicly espoused values.

The New Right policy goal of constitutional reform is apparent in Progressive Conservative policies. Three issues which demonstrate the government sentiment are (a) reaction to the Supreme Court of Canada decision ruling that the Alberta Human Rights Commission can hear complaints based on discrimination of sexual orientation; (b) the debate about the election vs. appointments to the Canadian Senate; and, (c) passage in the Alberta Legislative Assembly of the Balanced Budget and Debt Retirement Act (1996).

After the Vriend Supreme Court of Canada case decision, debate in the Alberta Legislative Assembly revolved around the issue of whether the province should invoke the notwithstanding clause of the Canadian Constitution to evade court protection of homosexuals. The Progressive Conservative caucus was split along urban and rural lines, while the opposition supported the Supreme Court. Although the Klein government accepted the decision of the Supreme Court, many neoconservative MLAs from rural Alberta were clearly upset. Barry McFarland, MLA, stated that 98% of his constituents were in favor of employing the notwithstanding clause to override the court ruling and that his constituents were "thoroughly disgusted" with "arrogant judges" (Lisac, 1998b). Lorne Taylor, Science Minister in the Klein government, stated: "I hold my values and my morals deeply" (p. A 15). Taylor is one of many rural MLAs who advocate for United States of America style conformation hearings for judges as a way to ensure that the courts are representative of the values of society.

That the neoconservative rural wing of the Conservative party was unable to influence their party to reject the Supreme Court Vriend case decision is another indication that rural MLAs are the junior partner in their coalition with Conservative urban neoliberals MLAs. Lisac (1998d) supports this conclusion in his statement that "power in Alberta gravitates toward Calgary-based corporations, financial services corporations based both in and outside Alberta and a smattering of rural political leaders. The tendency to single party politics reinforces their grip" (p. A 14).

A second policy arena where the provincial government has long pressed for constitutional reform is in the Canadian Upper House where Alberta has long advocated an elected Senate. Alberta has elected Senators "in waiting" before only to see them not appointed by the Prime Minister in Council. In October of 1998 Alberta elected two senators "in waiting" against the wishes of the Prime Minister who may not appoint them to Senate seats as they become vacant. The desire to see an elected and representative Senate which could better represent the regional interests of Albertans in Ottawa has been a constitutional reform which has evaded attainment.

As outlined above, the Balanced Budget and Debt Retirement Act (1996) is an example of Alberta public policy which emulates, albeit in a weaker form, the constitutional reform agenda of the Chicago monetarists and Public Choice advocates who propose constitutional amendments limiting government expenditure. This legislation compels the Alberta government to apply all government surpluses toward reduction of the provincial debt (Section 6) and has, in two years, retired in excess of $5 billion in provincial debt (Chase, 1998). By this legislative action the Alberta government demonstrated plainly their aversion to public spending even when they were fiscally able and the government's steadfast ideological commitment to debt reduction.

In summary, manifestations of New Right ideology are evident in Alberta public policy. Examples were provided in the areas of tax reduction, fiscal restraint and deficit reduction, privatization and deregulation of the public sector, public sector competition, and constitutional reform. These policy initiatives, designed to stimulate private investment and championed by the government as the "Alberta advantage," are derived from the ideology of the New Right.

New Right policy manifestations in Alberta postsecondary education

As identified above, New Right policy goals permeate Alberta government policy deliberations in several policy arenas and are clearly manifest in postsecondary education. In his analysis of postsecondary education policy developments in Alberta, Rae (1996) states "the roots of privatization are found in conservative economic theory which seeks to extend the role of market forces, it finds fertile soil in the political loam of Alberta's Progressive Conservative government" (p. 75). Worth (1995) similarly recognizes neoliberal values in shifting Alberta postsecondary education policy in the government's support of "the ascendancy of the value of liberty . . . interpreted as freedom of individual choice" and the acceptance that "private pursuit will also advance the public interest" (p. 8). Conditions created to enable the private sector to flourish include deficit reduction, privatization, and deregulation. These policies, which contribute to the "Alberta Advantage," affect postsecondary education policy and the extension of degree conferring authority to private institutions. Dr. Worth stated in interview that the proponents of private postsecondary education are "elected officials, many members of the present government, who believe in the market system and who promote the ideology and extension of that philosophy into privatization and deregulation."

In Alberta the New Right policy agenda for postsecondary education was being planned at the highest levels during the Progressive Conservative leadership campaign of 1992. In December of that year the Minister of Advanced Education, John Gogo, received a report from the Strategic Options Task Force, better known as the "secret committee" because its membership was unknown to the public, entitled *For All Our Futures: Strategies for the Future of Postsecondary Education in Alberta* (Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development, 1992). The report committee, chaired by Dr. Stephen Murgatroyd of Athabasca University, suggested primarily market driven strategies for change and three model options for changing the postsecondary education system. These options included providing degree granting for selected colleges, reducing operating grant "dependency," and increasing degree sharing between colleges and universities, with enhanced university transfer programs.

In January 1994 Jack Ady, Minister of the newly merged portfolio of Advanced Education and Career Development, announced that due to a general government policy of fiscal restraint, funding for Alberta postsecondary institutions would be reduced by 21% over three years (Marino, 1995, p. 214). Reduced postsecondary funding has resulted in strain on public university finance, a downsized professoriate, increased student tuition fees and created opportunities for private postsecondary institutions.

The portfolio reorganization which joined Advanced Education with Career Development indicated the government's new priority on career development for economic growth over the university's traditional role as an institution for independent research. Two manifestations of the government's new emphasis on economic development became quickly evident. When in November 1994 the first awards from the $47 million Access Grants were awarded, a trend became clear. Successful postsecondary proposals demonstrated two characteristics: the sharing of programs between institutions and the promise of employment for graduates (Marino, 1995). A second demonstration of the importance of employment became evident in early 1995, when the government amended legislation to permit public colleges and technological institutes to grant "applied degrees." These programs would include two semesters of work experience and compete for "access fund" financing.

In summary, the options reported by the "secret committee" have been largely realized. Jack Ady's announced funding cuts and the resultant increased student tuition have reduced operating grant "dependency." Providing degree granting to selected colleges has been realized at The King's University-College and other postsecondary institutions. The new applied degree programs approved for several public colleges and institutes of technology satisfy the new emphasis on postsecondary education as a preparation for job acquisition and also fit the need to provide degree granting to selected colleges. Finally, increased collaboration in university transfer programs from public and private colleges and collaboration for "access fund" financing has become increasingly visible.

The acceptance of privatization by the provincial government in several spheres of public policy contributes to a willingness to permit new degree conferring authority by private institutions, especially when these new degrees can be delivered at minimal cost to the public purse. This is the case with the new King's University College BEd program, which is financed by student tuition revenues. The program satisfies the governments' prevailing ideological values of choice and privatization and is, in addition, revenue neutral.

Teacher Preparation and the Development of Postsecondary Education in Alberta

The following examination of the development of postsecondary education in Alberta is intended to identify themes which provide perspective on recent decentralization of BEd degree conferring in Alberta. These themes include the deep roots of private colleges in Alberta, the incremental decentralization of Alberta postsecondary program delivery and the central role of the provincial government in the development of postsecondary education in this province.

These themes are not developed in isolation but rather are interwoven chronologically throughout the near century of postsecondary development in Alberta. Two eras are identified. The first of these was the period 1905-45, the era of the one dominant university and decentralized normal school teacher preparation. The second era begins post World War II. While teacher preparation is consolidated in the University of Alberta, provincial postsecondary centralization tendencies are on the wane. The new Alberta context is characterized by rapid growth of the provincial economy and postsecondary diversification to satisfy regional demands for access.

1905-1945: The University of Alberta and the normal schools

Postsecondary education in Alberta predated the birth of the province. In 1903 Alberta College, under the direction of the Methodist Church, became the first institution of higher learning in Edmonton and the province. When the Alberta Act (1905) ushered Alberta into the Canadian confederation, the lack of a provincial university became a priority for the new government. Soon after, in 1906, the Alberta provincial legislature established the University of Alberta (U of A) at Strathcona, across the river from Edmonton and in the political riding of Premier Rutherford. The choice of Edmonton as the seat of the new university was received in Calgary with dismay as Edmonton had also been chosen as the capital of the new province. MacGregor (1975) states that Calgary "howled" (p. 165) when Edmonton was awarded this political plum. The U of A opened its doors in 1908 and graduated its first class of 18 students in May, 1913.

The U of A was intended to serve as the sole public university for the entire province. Government policy for university education was explicitly centralized because the U of A had a monopoly of degree conferring. Skolnik (1987) stated that "historically, the view of the university as a natural monopoly was the cornerstone regulatory policy in the western provinces" (p. 81). However, even as the government planned for the new university, its members were aware of the political pressures for regional delivery of public postsecondary education and recognized a need to attract students from distant areas. Therefore, the Department of Education, which was responsible for the training of teachers, established Normal Schools for the preparation of teachers in Calgary (1906), and Camrose (1912). Thus Calgary received a Normal School as a concession for not being chosen as the location for the new provincial university. Similarly to the government decision to regionalize Normal Schools, the provincial Department of Agriculture established Schools of Agriculture in 1913 at Olds, Vermilion, and Claresholm.

The first full provincial debate about the monopoly of degree granting authority exercised by the U of A in Edmonton was begun in earnest by the citizens of Calgary, who lobbied for a local university early in the century. In 1910 Calgary MLA R.B. Bennett, a future Prime Minister of Canada, introduced a private member's bill in the Alberta provincial legislature proposing the establishment of a Calgary university. The government position was that the establishment of a second university would create rivalry between the two and that one university would enhance provincial unity. Bennett's bill was amended and Calgary received a college without degree conferring authority (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980). Calgary College opened in 1912 but operated only until 1915. In 1916 it was resurrected as the Institute of Technology and Art. Many of the citizens of Calgary continued their advocacy for a local public university, but they were unsuccessful in this endeavor for another half century.

Concurrent with the development of the U of A, several private colleges were established in Alberta by Christian denominations to provide for secondary education and theological training. In 1910 Calgary College, Camrose Lutheran College and Mount Royal College (Methodist) were established. In 1911 Alberta College South (Methodist), Robertson College (Presbyterian), and College Saint-Jean (Roman Catholic) opened in Strathcona. However, the University of Alberta was solely empowered by the University Act (1906) to confer degrees, while the private Colleges were permitted to enter into affiliations with the U of A for transfer credits.

The system of public postsecondary education in Alberta early in this century was administratively centralized in Edmonton with sole degree conferring authority resting in the hands of the University of Alberta. The normal schools and schools of agriculture were the first examples of regionalization of publicly supported postsecondary education programs in Alberta (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1080, pp. 5-6). The purpose of this first step toward decentralization was in part recognition of the aspirations of citizens and communities to host public postsecondary institutions and the recognition that these programs needed to be practical and in the "field" where they would be better able to attract students.

The dominant influence of the University of Alberta was a significant feature of the development of postsecondary education in Alberta during the first half of this century. The centrist nature of postsecondary education policy, at least as it related to degree granting, was indicative of the major role played by the government of Alberta and its Department of Education. However, right from the beginning the development of postsecondary programs in Alberta was influenced by citizen lobbies, particularly in the

Calgary College case, and by religious organizations which provided private postsecondary alternatives which juxtaposed the centralizing tendencies of the University of Alberta.

In the post World War I era several new private colleges were established in Edmonton including Concordia College by the Lutheran Church (1921), which began a postsecondary program in 1925; St. Stephen's College (on the U of A campus) by the United Church (1926); and St. Joseph's University Catholic College (1926), which was also affiliated with the U of A. In 1930 the University of Alberta Senate established a Committee on Junior Colleges which produced new affiliation regulations that reconfirmed the U of A's considerable control over affiliated colleges. Revisions to the School Act (1931) provided for school boards to establish junior colleges with the approval of the University of Alberta, again reinforcing government support of the dominant influence of a single university in Alberta postsecondary education policy. Mount Royal College, which had been in operation since 1910, became affiliated with the U of A in 1931 and began a two year Arts and Science transfer program in that same year. Shortly after, in 1933, the University of Alberta Department of Extension initiated a summer theatre program in Banff and this session became the genesis of the Banff School of Fine Arts.

In teacher education remarkable changes would occur in the decades following World War I. The Edmonton Normal School was opened in 1920 but closed intermittently between 1923 and 1928 and 1933 and 1935 as a government austerity measure. When the U of A began training secondary teachers at its new School of Education in 1929, normal schools in Calgary, Camrose, and Edmonton thereafter prepared only elementary teachers. The Camrose Normal School closed permanently in 1938 due to low enrollment and the Edmonton and Calgary normal schools were absorbed by the U of A in 1945 when they assumed full responsibility for all teacher education in the province of Alberta. These were landmark developments for teacher preparation in Alberta. The U of A School of Education evolved during this period to become the College of Education in 1939 and finally the Faculty of Education in 1943 (Chalmers, 1968, p. 158). In 1945 the Calgary Normal School became a branch of the U of A Faculty of Education.

Three significant changes were evident in these developments. Placing teacher education in the realm of the university enhanced the professional status of teachers considerably in Alberta and in the rest of Canada, as eventually all other provinces would follow Alberta's lead in this regard. In addition, relinquishing authority over teacher preparation, as the Department of Education did in closing the normal schools, reduced the departmental role from total responsibility for the preparation of teachers to one of overseeing teacher preparation and coordinating teacher standards through the newly created Board of Teacher Education and Certification. This coordinating role would become a model in later postsecondary expansion. Finally, making the Calgary Normal School a branch of the U of A's Faculty of Education was also a positive step for Calgary because this branch would become the nucleus of the University of Calgary in the years to come. The development of the Calgary campus as a branch of the University of Alberta over the next 20 years foreshadowed the weakening of the long prevailing centrist policy and was indicative of the growing momentum toward decentralization of postsecondary education in Alberta.

Post World War II: Economic growth and postsecondary education diversification

The dominance of the postsecondary landscape in Alberta by the U of A was complete with the absorption of the normal schools in 1945. However, socio-economic conditions in the province were about to change, and with these changes pressure for decentralization of postsecondary education was renewed. After the 1947 Leduc oil strike, the Alberta economy was awakened by a sustained petrochemical industry boom. Economic activity and population growth resulted in increased demand for postsecondary education in Alberta. Demand for new postsecondary student placements was followed by interest from several communities which wished to establish local public colleges.

The first breakthrough for regional delivery of new public postsecondary education was the establishment of Lethbridge Junior College (1957), which had as its mandate the delivery of university transfer courses and, at the government's insistence, non-university courses of a vocational nature (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980). Lethbridge College's early focus on university transfer courses was an outcome of several factors, including their board's aspiration to become a liberal arts university and the community's demand for local postsecondary education. The University of Alberta continued to exercise significant control over Lethbridge Junior College with new university affiliation regulations which were implemented in 1957. Colleges wishing affiliation were required to obtain the university's approval of instructors, curricula, facilities, admission requirements and final examinations.

Amendments to the Public Junior Colleges Act (1964) included provision for junior colleges to offer the second year of university transfer courses to relieve undergraduate enrollment pressures at the U of A (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980, p. 25). The resultant public college expansion during this period included the development of Red Deer College (1964), Medicine Hat College (1965), Grande Prairie College (1966), and Mount Royal College (1966), which converted from private to public status and became affiliated with the newly created University of Calgary. Two other private liberal arts colleges obtained university affiliation during this period: Camrose Lutheran College (1959) and Edmonton's Collegè Saint-Jean (1963). The latter eventually became partially integrated into the U of A in 1970 and finally became the fully integrated bilingual faculty of the U of A, Faculté Saint-Jean, in 1978. In spite of government focus on vocational and technical education in the early 1960s, of all the public colleges in operation in 1966, only Lethbridge Junior College and Mount Royal College offered any courses which were not transferable to the university.

With the proliferation of university transfer programs in the 1960s, it was only a matter of time before some of these institutions would seek university status. Both the government and the University of Alberta realized that further decentralization of university programs was needed (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980, p. 28). The University of Alberta's monopoly on degree conferring ended in 1966, when the University of Calgary was created from the Calgary branch of the U of A. One year later, in 1967, the University of Lethbridge was created from the university transfer program of Lethbridge College.

Tremendous growth was witnessed in Alberta postsecondary education in the years between the creation of Lethbridge Junior College (1957) and the establishment of the University of Lethbridge (1967). Full-time university enrollment grew from 4,600 to 18,600, and Alberta's postsecondary education budget grew from $5 million to $51 million during the 1958-68 period (Anisef, 1985, p. 164). New colleges, technical schools, and universities were opened during this period, including: Lethbridge Junior College, Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT), Red Deer College, Medicine Hat College, Grande Prairie College, the University of Calgary and the University of Lethbridge. During this decade technical education enrollments tripled, agricultural school enrollments doubled, and public college enrollments grew from 31 to over 2000. (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980, p. 30).

Concurrent with the dramatic growth and decentralization of delivery of postsecondary programs came the recognition by stakeholders of the need for planning and coordination of postsecondary education. Both the Universities Commission and the Colleges Commission were studying future development of higher education when, in 1969, the government appointed a Commission on Education Planning. The commission, headed by Dr. W. H. Worth (1972), was mandated to study the provincial education system and recommend changes in administration to meet changing economic and social conditions. The report of this commission, entitled *A Choice of Futures* (1971) recommended increased coordination of the Alberta postsecondary system through the creation of the Department of Advanced Education.

The defeat of the Social Credit government in 1971 hastened the adoption of the Worth Report recommendation for increased coordination of postsecondary education. The new Progressive Conservative government satisfied an election commitment by creating a new Department of Advanced Education. The new department assumed administrative authority over all postsecondary programs formerly controlled by the Department of Education, technical institutes, vocational centres, and agricultural colleges transferred from the Department of Agriculture. In addition, the new department assumed authority on matters of concern to postsecondary education such as student transferability, student loans, enrollment trends, and the fate of the Universities and Colleges Commissions.

Consolidation of direction of all of these institutions in the new Department of Advanced Education facilitated coordinated planning and efficiency in resources allocation and eased problems of student transfer between institutions. The concern relating to student transfer, which had been debated by the universities and colleges of Alberta for several years, was finally resolved with the intervention of the Department of Advanced Education, by the creation of the Alberta Council on Admissions and Transfer, which was the first such initiative of its kind in Canada. The direct coordinating function played by the Department of Advanced Education made inevitable the demise of the Colleges and Universities Commissions, which were disbanded officially in 1973.

Although the Department of Advanced Education had considerable influence in coordinating postsecondary education programs by virtue of its power to fund growth in the system, this control was not absolute. For example, the 1975 draft act entitled *The* Adult Education Act which proposed that the Minister have sweeping controls over adult education institutions, programs, courses, and institutional operations, was so poorly received by stakeholders in Alberta that the legislation was abandoned by the government (Andrews, Holdaway and Mowat, 1997, p. 79). Similarly, proposals for amalgamating various postsecondary institutions into multi-campus conglomerates in the name of efficient coordination were attacked as an affront to academic freedom by postsecondary institutions (Winchester, 1984). Subsequently the government abandoned these amalgamation proposals.

Significant additions to the Alberta postsecondary education landscape during the early years of the new Progressive Conservative government included the opening of Grant MacEwan College in Edmonton (1971), Keyano College in Fort McMurray (1975) out of the former AVC campus, and Lakeland College in Lloydminster (1975). In addition, a significant recommendation of the Worth Report (1972) was fulfilled when Alberta's fourth university, Athabasca University, accepted its first distance education students in 1973 and was granted permanent undergraduate university status in 1975. With many new colleges and universities opening in both the 1960s and 1970s, this geographic decentralization provided substantially greater access to postsecondary education for students resident in the province.

Perhaps the first indication that the provincial government was in favor of granting colleges the right to offer more than transfer provisions for the first two years of university study was the amendments to the Universities Act (1980) empowering private colleges to offer full degree programs in affiliation with a provincial university. However, this provision did not lead to the extension of undergraduate programs in any of the colleges in Alberta. Failure of colleges to obtain affiliation with a public university in Alberta was examined by Skolnik (1987) who found the affiliation requirement to be a "weighty restriction indeed" (p. 69). Affiliation attempts by colleges in other Canadian provinces were similarly blocked. Colleges attempting to affiliate in British Columbia during the 1980s met with university intransigence (Fowler, 1994). In Ontario attempts to affiliate were also blocked by what private college advocates described as the public university "monopoly which is based upon implicit academic arrogance, is in constraint of competition and limits institutional diversity" (Pike, 1991, p. 9).

Inception of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board

The fundamental change to the Alberta postsecondary environment that has made possible the provision of degree conferring status to private postsecondary institutions was the conception and development of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB). In 1983, an amendment to the Universities Act provided for the creation of the PCAB. This board is empowered to set minimum conditions to be met by private colleges proposing to offer programs leading to bachelor's degrees, evaluate proposed private college baccalaureate programs, and recommend to the Minister of Advanced Education that the applying college be granted degree conferring authority. The PCAB is also responsible for periodic review of accredited programs and may recommend the removal of accreditation for degree conferring programs.

The composition of the PCAB consisted of one representative from each of the four public universities of Alberta (the Universities of Calgary, Lethbridge, Athabasca, and Alberta), one representative from each of the four private colleges of Alberta (Augustana, King's, Concordia, and Canadian Union College), and four members from the public at large. All of the board members are appointed by the Minister of Advanced Education (Alberta Advanced Education, 1988). The individual members of the PCAB have as their mandate to monitor the accreditation of private programs as representatives of their respective institutions and to assume de facto trusteeship for the postsecondary program applications that would follow.

During the period 1983-91, the Minister, upon recommendation of the PCAB, approved BA and BSc degree programs in four Alberta private colleges (Andrews, Holdaway and Mowat, 1997, p. 69). These new degree conferring institutions included Augustana University College (Camrose), Canadian Union College (Lacombe), Concordia University College (Edmonton), and The King's University College (Edmonton). Whereas the private colleges now had a vehicle for extension of degree conferring, the public colleges were still unable to apply for degree conferring status.

Recent Alberta postsecondary education decentralization

Continued decentralization of postsecondary education was seriously considered by Alberta Advanced Education in the 1990 discussion paper *Responding to Existing and Emerging Demands for University Education: A Policy Framework.* This paper recognized a changing Alberta postsecondary landscape and identified strategic factors and issues that impacted public postsecondary policy planning including:

1. that accessibility should be enhanced during the period of restraint;

2. that credibility of programs is established through agencies of The Private Colleges Accreditation Board and the Universities Coordinating Council, among others;

3. that pressures from MLA's and community leaders supported the development of local institutions. Together with political support, community pressures from institutional administration, faculty, students and parents "exert pressures that focus on prestige, economic development, family cohesion, and costs to students, in addition to general concerns expressed about access" (p. 5);

4. that mandate clarification for institutions was needed to clarify which programs and in which specific locations degree programs should be available. Mandate clarification involved consideration of degree granting for public colleges;

5. that the role of all institutions in the postsecondary system be reconsidered. Should the role of private colleges be expanded? Should community colleges play a greater role in support of the universities? Should technical institutes be considered as a way of relieving pressure at the universities, especially in technical areas? and

6. that fiscal restraint was expected to continue in the foreseeable future. How could the postsecondary education system provide access to increasing numbers of students by allocating existing resources in a more optimal manner? (pp. 4-7).

Considering these strategic factors and issues, Alberta Advanced Education (1990, pp. 10-15) proposed several scenarios for consideration. The first of these suggested building on existing institutional mandates and programming for university-level education at universities, public colleges, and private colleges in order to increase student capacity. The policy implications of this scenario included the perception of inferior degrees from smaller institutions and the difficulty of transferability. The second scenario called for the establishment of a new degree-granting institution. Policy implications of the implementation of this scenario included the difficulty in choosing only one location when many communities wished to be chosen and the high capital outlay to establish a new postsecondary institution. Scenario three would be to encourage out-of-province universities to offer programs in Alberta. Costs of this option would be small, but enhancement of access would be limited by the high tuition fees demanded by private for-profit institutions. Scenario four provided degree-granting status for some public colleges in Alberta. Advantages of this option included that public colleges were located in all regions and credibility of their transfer programs was well established. However, articulation with universities was difficult, and credibility of the new tier of degrees could be difficult to establish. Finally, scenario five suggested the development of a two year degree at public colleges and technical institutes. Again the primary difficulty with this option was the credibility of a new two year degree credential.

It was evident that the Alberta Advanced Education (1990) discussion paper seriously considered extending degree conferring authority to the public colleges of Alberta. Following the release of the paper, Red Deer College formally sought authorization to offer degree conferring programs. However, after consultations with stakeholders, John Gogo, Minister of the Department of Advanced Education, announced in December 1991 that the government was not ready to extend degree conferring authority to public colleges. Red Deer College and other public colleges continue to maintain affiliation agreements with the public universities which enable the public colleges to offer courses transferable for credit at the public universities. Although the government denied degree conferring authority to public colleges at this time, the idea continued to be debated. In the Advanced Education and Career Development 1992 report of the Strategic Options Task Force entitled *For All of Our Futures: Strategies for the Future of Postsecondary Education in Alberta,* the report provided as one policy option the extension of degree granting status for selected public colleges (p. 41). Red Deer College and Grande Prairie College were specifically cited in this report in "response to [their] community aspirations" (p. 42).

In January 1994 Jack Ady, Minister of Advanced Education and Career Development, announced that due to a general government policy of fiscal restraint, funding for Alberta postsecondary institutions would be reduced by 21% over three years. In October 1994, the department released the document *New Directions for Adult Learning in Alberta.* It identified the department's four major goals for postsecondary institutions: accessibility, responsiveness, affordability, and accountability. Of the strategies identified to enhance achievement of these four goals, several affected the extension of degree conferring.

With respect to the goal of accessibility, *New Directions* targeted growth of 10,000 new student places in the succeeding three years (p. 8). It also announced that "private providers may submit proposals for the expansion of licensed or accredited programs" and that providers will compete in, among other categories, "degree programs" (p. 8). The use of the term *providers* is interchangeable with *postsecondary institutions*, both public and private. The recognition in *New Directions* of the possibility of new and expanded programs, that private providers could submit proposals for expansion, and that providers would compete in degree programs indicated that the door was open for new private college degree programs.

The *New Directions* goal of responsiveness included two strategies which involved possible extension of degree conferring. The first of these suggested that Albertans found "barriers to relocating to a larger centre" and that "degree completion opportunities will be improved and offered on an accessible campus" (p. 10). Further, *New Directions* implored Alberta's universities to "improve opportunities for completing university programs through agreements with the public colleges and technical institutes" (p. 10). This language appeared to indicate that the government was in favor of full baccalaureate degree programs being offered at public colleges under affiliation agreements with an Alberta university. In teacher preparation, there are some examples of BEd degrees offered by public colleges in affiliation with public universities in Alberta. Grande Prairie College offered a Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree in affiliation with the University of Alberta (1995-97). Red Deer College offers a four year BEd degree program in affiliation with the U of A. Similarly, Medicine Hat College offers a BEd degree in affiliation with the University of Lethbridge.

Another strategy relating to the goal of responsiveness, applied degrees, was first introduced in the *New Directions* discussion paper. This new baccalaureate credential involves partnerships between postsecondary institutions and industry. It is the responsibility of the colleges and institutes to develop transfer arrangements with the universities but the primary purpose of the applied degree programs is to prepare students for work. In addition, no research role is required by the faculty teaching any applied degree program. At the time of writing, seven postsecondary institutions in Alberta have been empowered by Order-in-Council to grant four year applied degrees. The new applied degree baccalaureate provision is yet another indication that the government was ready to empower additional postsecondary institutions to confer new degrees.

In an apparent gathering of degree conferring momentum, The King's University College was empowered to offer a two year Bachelor of Education after degree (BEd) program in elementary education beginning in the fall of 1995. Concordia University College was also empowered by an Order-in-Council in June 1995 to offer a similar BEd after degree program beginning in the fall of 1996. Also in late 1995, the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development announced that five community colleges and institutes of technology had been granted applied degree conferring status. These applied degree programs include: Olds College, Bachelor of Applied Horticulture Technology; Lakeland College, Bachelor of Applied Integrated Environmental Management; Lethbridge Community College, Bachelor of Applied Conservation Enforcement; and N.A.I.T. and S.A.I.T., Bachelor of Applied Information Systems Technology.

At the time of writing, recent developments regarding the extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta included that upon recommendation of the PCAB, Orders-in-Council were issued in December 1995 and January 1996 respectively, which empowered Canadian Union College of Lacombe to confer degrees in four year Bachelor of Arts in Behavioral Science and four year Bachelor of Business programs.

Currently, the PCAB is evaluating applications from Concordia University College for a four year BA in Psychology program and The King's University College for four year BA and BSc programs in Environmental Science (PCAB, 1996).

The King's University College

In 1971 the Christian College Association (Alberta) was founded to articulate a vision of Christian higher education. Their goal became the establishment of a nondenominational Christian college. In 1979 the Alberta Legislature approved The King's College Act, which provided their authority to offer instruction in liberal arts, theology, sciences and education. The King's College opened in September 1979 to an initial student body of 105 in Biology, Economics, English, History, Interdisciplinary Studies, Music, Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology and Theology. The King's College program of studies was gradually expanded to include course offerings in Business, Chemistry, Drama, Mathematics, Physics and Physical Education. In 1983, an affiliation agreement was concluded with the University of Alberta which provided for the transfer of many of The King's courses to programs of study at the University of Alberta. Provincial funding for King's College university transfer courses was approved in March 1985 through the Department of Advanced Education.

In 1986 when the PCAB had established standards for colleges to apply for degree conferring status, The King's College made application and was empowered to confer degrees in Bachelor of Arts (BA) and Bachelor of Science (BSc) programs which began in 1987 and 1989 respectively. In 1990 when Dr. Walter Worth (author of the Worth Report, a former Deputy Minister of Advanced Education, and a former Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta), was the chair of the board, the PCAB established regulations detailing how to apply for BEd degree conferring authority. After several years of negotiation, King's College applied to offer a BEd program and the PCAB commissioned an independent evaluation of their proposal. The evaluation team was chaired by Dr. Myer Horowitz, a former President of the University of Alberta and a former Dean of the Faculty of Education at the U of A. The positive report on the quality of the proposed King's College BEd program by the evaluation team chaired by Horowitz resulted in the unanimous approval by the PCAB of The King's BEd application in June 1994. An Order-in-Council from the provincial cabinet followed and The King's College, now with its name changed to The King's University College (TKUC) since November 1993, was empowered to begin their BEd program beginning in the fall of 1995. The program opened in September 1995 with a small class of 23 students who had previously completed a BA or BSc degree.

Since 1992 The King's University College has been a free standing degree granting institution with no formal affiliation agreement with the University of Alberta. However, TKUC continues to maintain formal transfer arrangements with Alberta universities by means of arrangements established by the Alberta Council on Admissions and Transfer. The rapid growth accomplished by The King's University College in its short history, is an indication of the determination of its administration and professional staff to pursue academic growth within the context of their Christian identity and an apparent indication that this institution satisfies the educational needs of its students community (The King's University College, 1993, p. 5).

The philosophy underpinning the King's Bachelor of Education program is distinct from the traditional Alberta university BEd programs because King's students are encouraged to embrace the profession of teaching as a "Christian calling" (Bruinsma, 1995, p. 13). The King's BEd program purports to encourage the development of collaborative practitioners who reflect on wider beliefs about truth, human worth, justice and compassion. This holistic approach to teaching is advocated by Goodlad (1990), who identifies one dimension of teacher education as the practice of instilling in prospective teachers good stewardship and underscores teaching as a moral activity. Similarly, The King's University College BEd program fosters the inherently moral position of teaching and bases its world view on Christian theology (Bruinsma, 1995, p. 14).

Summary

Historical themes evident in the development of postsecondary education in Alberta continue to be relevant in examining the current extension of degree conferring authority. The three themes evident include the long history of private postsecondary institutions in Alberta, the gradual decentralization of the delivery of postsecondary education in Alberta and the continuing dominance of the provincial government in postsecondary education policy.

The history of private postsecondary colleges in Alberta is both long and rich. Alberta College, as a private Methodist institution, predated the birth of both the province and the University of Alberta. Other private Christian colleges developed early in the province's history, including Calgary College (1910), Camrose Lutheran College (1910), Mount Royal College (1910), Robertson College (1911), College Saint-Jean

(1911), Concordia College (1920), St. Stephen's College (1926), and St. Joseph's University Catholic College (1926) (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980). The deep roots of the private colleges in Alberta are indicative of these colleges' secure acceptance in the political, cultural and religious fabric of the province. It should not be surprising therefore that extension of degree conferring in Alberta during the last decade has been achieved by the private Christian colleges of which The King's University College is but one example.

A second theme in the historical development of postsecondary education in Alberta relates to the gradual decentralization of access to and delivery of postsecondary programs. While historically the official position of the Alberta government was centrist with respect to degree conferring, as evident by the government's support for degree conferring remaining exclusively with the University of Alberta for more than half a century, decentralization pressures for regional delivery of postsecondary education gradually affected government policy. The first manifest indication of decentralization in Alberta public postsecondary education was in teacher preparation programs at the normal schools (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980, pp. 5-6). The normal schools were sometimes closed during periods of austerity and finally absorbed by the University of Alberta, but they were the first display of the government's willingness to decentralize delivery of postsecondary education to accommodate regional demands for increased accessibility. In the 1960s pressures for increased accessibility resulted in the creation of two new universities, one in Calgary (1966) and the other in Lethbridge (1967); two technical schools, the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology or SAIT (1960) and, the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology or NAIT (1962); and several public colleges, including Red Deer College (1964), Medicine Hat College (1965), and Grande Prairie College (1966).

Both the University of Calgary and the University of Lethbridge began as decentralized access points of study for University of Alberta transfer programs. Each achieved university status when their academic programs grew and matured. It seems not unreasonable that the new colleges born in the postsecondary growth period of the 1960s and 1970s would also desire this same goal of degree conferring authority. Reno Bossetti, a former Deputy Minister of Education, stated "inside the chest of every college president beats the heart of a university president." The inception of the PCAB was indicative of decentralization pressures in postsecondary education which would soon enable private colleges to gain authority to confer degrees.

Decentralization of access to and delivery of public postsecondary education in Alberta was first manifested in teacher preparation when the Department of Education built and directly administered the normal schools. Later, more significant decentralization of access was accorded with the funding of new postsecondary institutions in the 1960s and 1970s. There was little opposition to decentralization of access or new degree conferring authority in the period between the mid 1960s and the early 1990s. However, in the last few years, when the role of private colleges in the preparation of teachers was broached by applications to the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB) for Bachelor of Education degree conferring authority, a significant objection was voiced by a key stakeholder, the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA). Since teacher preparation in the normal schools was the first historical example of regionalized access in the Alberta public postsecondary landscape, it is perhaps ironic that the decentralization of BEd program delivery is the sole example of modern postsecondary decentralization which has been publicly opposed.

The third theme evident in the development of postsecondary education in Alberta has been the dominant role of the provincial government in postsecondary education. Government policy originally provided the University of Alberta with a monopoly over degree conferring authority. No other postsecondary institution was empowered to confer degrees or obtain public funding without an act of the provincial legislature. Eventually, when the need for decentralization of program delivery was recognized in the 1960s and the 1970s, the government provided for new institutions. Even as the government slowly moved from the earlier policy of centralized to decentralized delivery of postsecondary education, the government has maintained close coordination and control of postsecondary educational activity through funding and provision of degree conferring authority.

This newly created system of postsecondary institutions which emerged in the Alberta postsecondary landscape during the 1960s to the 1970s, however, remained closely coordinated. Andrews, Holdaway and Mowat (1997, p. 17) characterize the establishment of the Department of Advanced Education in 1972 as the beginning of the period of greater central scrutiny and control of postsecondary education. Current regulations requiring private and public colleges to apply for degree granting authority reflect continued government dominance of postsecondary education. Although access to postsecondary education has become increasingly decentralized, government control remains central. Applications for new degree conferring authority are made to the PCAB, but this board is a creation of the Department of Advanced Education. All board members of the PCAB are appointed by the Minister and are therefore subject to similar political pressures and the prevailing philosophy of the current government.

Trends in Teacher Preparation Programs

Introduction

The following section provides evidence of convergence of teacher preparation programs in the context of global university restructuring and emerging pressures for convergence of teacher certification. These trends, evident internationally, are also apparent in Alberta. An examination of change in university education globally indicates neoliberal restructuring of higher education. Convergence of teacher education can therefore be understood as a part of a global phenomenon of university restructuring.

Before trends in teacher preparation programs are identified, it would be useful to recognize the existence of recent university reforms. Pannu et al. (1994) report that a survey of policy initiatives by governments worldwide reveals that universities are experiencing "deep restructuring" (p. 500) of "unmistakable similarity" (p. 505). They characterize recent university reforms in Europe, North America, South America, Australia, Africa, and Asia as the result of "neoliberal assault on the welfare state" and identify the university as "a core institution of the welfare state" (p. 509).

As reported in Chapter 2, in their survey of international postsecondary literature Pannu et al. (1994) identified global trends in university reform which included government financial cutbacks, conditional funding based upon institutional accountability, increased private participation in public universities and increased public financing of private universities (each of which blurs the distinction between private and public universities), increased presence of corporate rationality with mergers among departments and institutions, emphasis on efficiency rather than on equality of opportunity, increased presence of market values and forces, demand-driven organizational orientation, emphasis on excellence, and integration of the system of postsecondary institutions which encourages differentiation and choice. Dennison (1989) reported similar trends in the United Kingdom and suggests that changes there are relevant for understanding the Canadian postsecondary environment. These trends in international postsecondary education reforms, identified by Pannu et al. (1994) and Dennison (1989), represent the implementation of New Right policy objectives of privatization, decentralization, and fiscal downsizing of the welfare state, of which the university is a prime benefactor.

Recognizing this perspective of recent university restructuring, we turn our attention to the context of teacher education. An examination of historical trends in teacher preparation programs in England, United States, and British Columbia are identified and will then be measured against teacher preparation in Alberta. A comparison of trends across these contexts reveals several similarities, including longer period of preparation, differentiated elementary and secondary training, consecutive versus concurrent approaches to teacher preparation, increased practicum for student teachers in schools, increasing government intervention, and decentralization of access. Finally, a discussion of emerging pressures for convergence of teacher certification and conclusions follow.

Teacher preparation in England and the United States

An examination of the historical development of teacher education in England and the United States reveals several themes, including the location of teacher preparation, differentiated preparation for elementary and secondary school teachers in consecutive and concurrent models of teacher training, and increasing government intervention in teacher preparation. It can be demonstrated that the themes evident in the development of teacher preparation in England and the United States are manifest in the development of teacher preparation in Alberta.

With respect to the location of teacher preparation, programs in England and the United States (US) in the 19th century were predominantly in small teacher training colleges (Gardner, 1996) or normal schools (Cremin, 1964), respectively. Gradually, teacher education programs in each country moved closer to the university. By 1950 all teacher education in the US was located in universities (Clifford & Guthrie, 1988), and in England, by 1970, teacher preparation in polytechnic institutions was commensurate with university-based teacher preparation (Becher, 1987). Changes to teacher preparation in England following passage of the Education Act (1994) increasingly shifted teacher preparation to school sites (Pring, 1996) but university influence on teacher education remains considerable. Schnur and Golby (1995) state that British government ministers have proposed "to locate teacher education in schools for 66% of their preparation" with teachers to act as mentors of teachers in training (p. 12).

While the location of teacher preparation programs has been consolidated in the university, a long tradition of differentiated preparation for teachers of elementary and secondary education is evident. The preparation of elementary teachers was historically less academically demanding (Dent, 1977), of shorter duration and placed more emphasis on practical and methodological issues. Elementary teacher preparation gradually became more academically rigorous, increased in length to a four year concurrent program, and was absorbed into the university system. Secondary teacher preparation was historically characterized by academic preparation in an arts or science baccalaureate, followed by one year of consecutive professional preparation in a university.

The slow ascension of university influence over teacher education in England may however, be threatened (Gardner, 1996) by the British government's current support of practical, school-based teacher preparation programs. This probably indicates nonsupport for the theoretical predisposition of university teacher preparation programs and the research orientation of graduate schools of education (Pring, 1996, pp. 12-15). New school-based preparation programs may be more readily accomplished in a consecutive model with less university influence. Judge (1990) reports that the teacher internship program of Oxford University is best deployed in a consecutive model of teacher preparation and suggests that "there seems now to be no clear rationale for the BEd as a concurrent form of training" (p. 25). The debate about the relative merits of the concurrent and consecutive models of teacher preparation continues on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, well-received reports from American scholars (Carnegie Task Force, 1986; Holmes Group, 1986) favor the consecutive model for teacher preparation.

Finally, with respect to increasing government influence on teacher preparation, the domination of British universities by the British government, which has redirected the thrust of teacher preparation via their new funding agency, the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), is readily apparent. In the United States university autonomy is intact because the federal government has little constitutional jurisdiction over universities, which remain under state authority. This demonstrates Fowler's (1995) observation that "it is easier to make major structural changes in education under unitary government than under federal ones" (p. 90). However, increasing pressure for change has been expressed by US society in the hope that improvement in the education system can produce higher levels of US productivity to compensate for the uncompetitiveness of the US economy. The Carnegie and Holmes Reports are two examples of authoritative pressure for reorganization of teacher preparation programs.

Decentralization of BEd programs in British Columbia

Alberta Advanced Education monitored postsecondary developments and the decentralization of BEd programs in British Columbia. In a discussion paper released at a strategic planning workshop, the department stated that developments in British Columbia's postsecondary system were "worthy of consideration" (Alberta Advanced Education, 1985). A synopsis of the changes in delivery of BEd programs in BC follows.

In British Columbia during the mid 1980s, there was political impetus for decentralization of Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree programs, which led to initiation by the Ministry of Advanced Education to extend BEd degree outreach programs and eventually degree conferring status to outlying colleges. There were several reasons for the pressure which was exerted for decentralization (Fowler, 1994). In the first case, the government was primarily concerned about the issue of accessibility and significant and vocal demands from the hinterland. Many students wishing to enroll in a BEd degree program were compelled to leave home and relocate at great expense to either Vancouver or Victoria. Municipalities that housed B.C.'s colleges were also eager to see their hometown college obtain new programs with the resultant increase in funding, facility expansion, and economic spin-offs that college expansion activity brings.

The B.C. Ministry of Education also favored decentralization because their staff believed that decentralization of teacher preparation would stimulate innovation in education and school reform in general. They also wished to devolve teacher certification to a professional college of teachers, perhaps as a money saving initiative during a period of fiscal restraint, but more probably as a vehicle to partition a Social Credit political foe, the B.C. Teacher's Federation, into a union, a professional college of teachers, and a school administrator's association.

The staff of the Ministry of Advanced Education concurred with the decentralization of teacher education. Many staff members from the ranks of Advanced Education were formerly employed by various colleges in British Columbia. Therefore these Advanced Education staff shared the college ethos that wished to see colleges increase attendance, aggrandize facilities, and enhance status. As former staff of small institutions, they often valued teaching above research and were unmoved by the universities' appreciation of the primacy of research.

With these key players (politicians, college administration, and the Ministries of Education and Advanced Education) in general agreement about the value of decentralization, a process was begun whereby the three universities were coerced to broker B.Ed degree programs on site at the community colleges. A period of courtship between prospective colleges and the universities began which culminated in agreements between the universities and colleges to jointly offer BEd programs at the respective colleges under the auspices of the senior partners, the universities. The university-college partnerships included University of British Columbia in partnership with Caribou College (1989), the University of Victoria in partnership with Okanagan College and Malaspina College (1989). In 1991, Simon Fraser University and its partner, Fraser Valley Community College, were a late addition to the BEd partnership outreach program.

The new British Columbia BEd programs were begun as collaborative operations, but problems quickly exposed the lack of a shared vision by the operating institutions. The universities were clearly reluctant to decentralize and relinquish their oligopoly of professional preparation. They viewed the programs as impermanent and the universities' role as paramount. The colleges, on the other hand, viewed the programs as permanent and the universities' role as transitory until the college could learn to operate independently. Further, the colleges wished to expand their legitimacy with degree conferring status and to thereby enhance their status.

Throughout the decentralization process, there was a general lack of shared vision or sense of direction from among the key stakeholders. The colleges and universities clearly had different interests and the politically motivated marriages between them were contrived. The newly created College of Teachers believed that BEd decentralization was detrimental to its agenda and only reluctantly condoned the new BEd programs. There was a lack of coherence between the Ministries of Education and Advanced Education due to changes in personnel and budget cuts. The general lack of coherence in vision between the key stakeholders in the decentralization process resulted in problematic collaboration at best and led to what Fowler (1994) described as the "politics of maneuver" (p. 20).

Convergence of teacher certification

Ostry (1995) stated that economic globalization has blurred the lines between international and domestic policies and that the major focus of the World Trade Organization (WTO) is on harmonizing domestic regulatory regimes. In education, harmonizing of domestic regulatory regime would require a convergence of teacher education and certification. A convergence of teacher certification in Canada would be difficult to achieve because education is constitutionally a provincial responsibility, and historically, provinces have been reluctant to relinquish autonomy. However, with respect to regulatory barriers to national professional credentialing in Canada, Industry Canada Occasional Paper No. 18 (1998) has recommended harmonization of labour mobility. Specifically, the Forum of Labour Market Ministers has "started the process of working towards reconciling differences in regulations governing professional occupations across Canada in line with the Agreement on Internal Trade" (p. 50). Under the coordination of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Canada has also participated in tri-national conferences with Mexico and the United States, which Barlow and Robertson (1994) suggest signals a convergence of purpose being sought between higher education and the free-market model of continental trade and economic development. It would seem unlikely, however, that teacher certification could be harmonized in North America before commonly recognized teacher certification standards are achieved nationally in Canada.

In the United States there has been a discussion of standardizing teacher certification since at least the 1980s. The Holmes Group (1986) proposed Professional Teacher Examinations, and the Carnegie Task Force (1986) proposed establishing a National Board of Teaching Standards to establish teaching standards and certify teachers. The governments of the United States and Mexico have also met to discuss possible coordination of primary and secondary education via utilization of shared curricular reforms, teacher exchanges and redesigning teacher education (Barlow & Robertson, 1994, p. 110). The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) also established a process for harmonization of professional standards of teachers in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. The NAFTA (Annex 1210) treaty calls for negotiation of professional standards including ethics, professional development, recertification, and scope of practice. With respect to this NAFTA convergence goal, the School of Education, University of Southern California, prepared a document on common certification standards entitled, *The Educational Impact of the NAFTA: A Proposal to Support a Conference Between Educators in the United States, Canada, and Mexico* (1992), which invited a tri-national commission to establish shared education standards enforced by a common teacher certification system in all three countries.

In Canada, even if the provincial governments were willing to negotiate relinquishing their control over teacher certification, provincial teacher associations and the professional Teacher's Colleges in British Columbia and Ontario oppose this threat to their autonomy and professional interests. Convergence of professional standards and teacher certification over a continental jurisdiction would almost certainly result in a negotiated compromise of standards lower than those now acceptable in Canadian jurisdictions and in competitive downward pressures on teacher salaries and benefits in Canada. The resultant loss in Canada of teacher autonomy and remuneration that would accompany a convergence of certification and teaching standards would also reduce the professional status and prestige that is a critical interest of teachers. Therefore teacher associations, the Alberta Teachers' Association included, are skeptical of and resistant to internationalization pressures to harmonize teacher practice and certification. In spite of this opposition by Canadian educators, the Canadian government favors harmonization of professional credentialing. In response to teacher concerns about convergence of teacher certification, Michael Wilson, Canadian Trade Minister stated in 1993 that "there is every logic to seeing that trade agreements covering cross-border services address matters of licensing and accreditation" (Barlow & Robertson, 1994, p. 110).

In summary, identifiable internationalization pressures for convergence of teacher certification in North America include the focus of the World Trade Organization (WTO) on harmonizing domestic regulatory regimes (Ostry, 1995) and evidence of restructuring of the university as an institution (Pannu et al., 1994). Canadian governments have demonstrated a willingness to cooperate with these internationalization pressures in the following ways:

1. The Canadian Forum of Labour Market Ministers is discussing reconciling differences in regulations governing professional occupations across Canada in line with the Agreement on Internal Trade (Industry Canada, 1998).

2. The Department of Foreign Affairs has coordinated Canadian participation in tri-national conferences with Mexico and the United States on postsecondary restructuring.

3. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) establishes a process for harmonization of professional standards of teachers in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. The NAFTA (Annex 1210) treaty calls for negotiation of professional standards including ethics, professional development, recertification and scope of practice.

These manifestations of internationalization pressures in postsecondary policy deliberations indicate increasing possibility for convergence of teacher certification and suggest curtailment of the traditionally independent role of the university to determine teacher education.

Conclusions

The preceding review examined trends in teacher education in several jurisdictions, with an underlying perspective which recognizes a global neoliberal restructuring of the university. Teacher education across different jurisdictions converges with respect to several aspects, including a longer period of preparation, the emerging predominance of consecutive over concurrent approaches to teacher preparation, an increased practicum for student teachers in schools, increasing government intervention, and decentralization of access. An emerging theme also examined in this section entails pressures for the convergence of teacher certification. These trends are readily evident in evolving teacher preparation programs in Alberta.

With respect to neoliberal restructuring of postsecondary education, Dworkin (as cited in Dennison, 1989) stated that postsecondary policy initiatives undertaken by the Thatcher government in England which appeared to be about economics and efficiency really represented "an ideological battle between two strikingly different versions of the role of universities in a democracy" (p. 87). The Thatcher version of the university, what Dworkin called the "integrationist model," placed the university in the orbit of the civil service and postsecondary policy subject to the wishes of the government and the marketplace. This new version of the role of the university contrasted sharply with the traditional university role as essentially independent and exercising relative autonomy in matters of governance and budgetary allocation.

The advent of an "integrationist model" of the university in England heralded the British government's intention to restructure higher education after a decade of sustained growth and government expenditure. In Alberta increased government intervention in postsecondary education also occurred in the 1970s after a period of sustained growth and expenditure, beginning with the creation of the Department of Advanced Education. Later in that same decade, Alberta universities faced a significant threat to their traditional autonomy in the face of increased government coordination proposed by the Adult Education Act (1975) (Winchester, 1984).

In England the universities also struggled to maintain autonomy and tenure of the professoriate "irrespective of financial circumstances, the status of the program, or it seems, the performance of the individual" (Dennison, 1989, p. 91). The government assumption however regarded higher education as part of the public sector, whose purpose was to pursue the economic and social priorities of the government. As suggested above, opposition from the British universities to British government "integrationist" assumptions led to an "ideological battle" (Dworkin, 1988). The 1993 elevation of the status of the polytechnics during this period of ideological battle may have been coincidence or perhaps the government response to opposition from its university adversaries.

In Alberta the public universities have been unhappy about reduction in funding, resistant to government encroachment on their autonomy, unresponsive to neoliberal policy initiatives to restructure, and, opposed to government policies to privatize teacher education. The public universities' response to these policies could be characterized as an "ideological battle." Similar to the British government's view of university role as "integrationist", the merger of the departments of Advanced Education with Career Development in Alberta signaled the Alberta government's new emphasis on advanced education for employment and economic development. Finally, as in England where the polytechnics have been redesignated as universities, in Alberta a new level of postsecondary institutions, the university-college, is emerging as a potential competitor to the public universities.

Emerging international trends in teacher education appear to involve the interconnected issues of the lengthening of the period of teacher postsecondary preparation, the increasing importance of the consecutive model of preparation over the concurrent model, and an increasing emphasis on the importance of extended practical preparation of student teachers in schools under the direction of practicing professionals.

The trend for lengthening the period of teacher education evident across several jurisdictions appears to be continuing. While a minimum of four years of university education are now required for a BEd and teacher certification in Alberta, since 1997 the University of Calgary has adopted the consecutive model of teacher preparation. That is, prospective teachers need to complete an undergraduate university degree before admittance to the teacher education program. This new program requires a fifth year of university preparation and is similar to requirements in BC where the fifth year of education is required for teacher certification. The recently initiated BEd programs at The King's University College and Concordia University College are also "after degree" programs which require completion of an undergraduate degree in Arts or Science before admittance to a two year BEd program. The Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta, the oldest and most traditional of the faculties of education in Alberta, remains the only institution in Alberta conferring a BEd degree that requires only four years to complete. Although it is possible to complete a consecutive model "after degree" BEd, the majority of BEd graduates from the U of A continue to complete a four year concurrent program of studies.

?

In spite of the U of A position in favor of the concurrent BEd program, the international trend in teacher preparation appears to be for longer periods of study in a consecutive model program of studies. In the United States, for example, the Carnegie

Task Force Report (1986) and The Holmes Group (1986) favored the consecutive model for teacher preparation. In England, while reporting on the Oxford University teacher internship program, Judge (1990) claimed that "there seems now to be no clear rationale for the BEd as a concurrent form of training" (p. 25). It appears that the provision by the University of Alberta of the traditional concurrent model BEd may become threatened by this trend for increasing acceptance of the consecutive model of teacher preparation.

Neoliberal pressures on the university also appear to support the consecutive model of teacher preparation. The World Bank has reported (Brown, 1994, p. 15) that although teacher training is important, the teacher's subject knowledge is more important for student achievement. Therefore, the World Bank concluded that teachers should be recruited on the basis of their subject knowledge expertise and inserviced pedagogically in classroom practice after undergraduate university subject preparation has been completed. The emphasis on subject knowledge followed by inservice preparation indicates support for the consecutive model of teacher preparation.

In England universities have become less important for teacher preparation and "provide only the what and not the why or how of teaching" (Schnur & Golby, 1995, p. 12). Since passage of the Education Act (1994) teacher preparation has increasingly shifted to school sites, and the British government has advocated locating teacher education in schools for two-thirds of teacher preparation. In *The Government's Proposals for the Reform of Initial Teacher Training* (Department of Education and Science, 1993), the British government takes the position that "schools should not only act as full partners with higher education, but should be able, if they wish, to play a leading role in the planning and providing courses (p. 2). Pring (1996, pp. 12-15) suggested that the British government's current support of practical, school-based teacher preparation programs indicates nonsupport for the theoretical predisposition of university teacher preparation programs.

In the United States criticism of teacher preparation by the universities has led to limits on university course preparation of teachers in Texas and Mississippi, and the State of New Jersey requires only knowledge of subject matter for certification (Schnur & Golby, 1995, p. 13). Although limits may be placed on university course preparation in some American states, student teaching remains exempt from these limits. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1993) reported that Title II of the of the proposed *Improving America's Schools Act* (1993) calls for a substantial portion of teacher's professional development funding to be directed to local education agencies, which could then support practical teacher preparation in the school environment. This move toward more local professional control of practice teaching mirrors similar developments in England.

In Alberta teacher preparation programs, there has been increasing emphasis placed on in school practicum programs. Alberta faculties of education are providing support for practicum programs coordinated directly by school-based professionals. At the University of Alberta evaluation of practicum students is done cooperatively by the supervising teacher and a faculty consultant. Cohorts of practicum students are placed in selected schools where their practicum experience is directed by school-based professionals in consultation with faculty staff. At the University of Lethbridge, Cathy Campbell (1995), Assistant Dean of Field Experience, challenges status quo thinking about the traditionally dominant role of the university in practicum programs: "Can we take the university to jurisdictions? Do on-campus components have to be delivered on campus? Maybe it is time to re-examine the notion of what our campus is" (p. 42). In recognition of this trend for increased teacher participation in preservice teacher preparation, the U of C has permitted a devolution of the practicum component of preservice teacher education to the Alberta Teachers' Association Calgary Area Field Experiences Committee (CAFEC) to the extent that Gougeon (1995) states "today the practicum is essentially out of the hands of the University of Calgary Faculty of Education" (p.37).

In summary, the Alberta government has always maintained ultimate control over postsecondary education through the levers of access to public funding and control of degree conferring authority. Following the rapid growth of postsecondary education in the 1960s and 1970s, the creation in 1972 of the Department of Advanced Education signaled the era of increased scrutiny and control of the emerging postsecondary system. The creation of the PCAB in 1984 was a critical indication of the Alberta government's intention to allow private colleges to confer degrees and signaled the government's increasing acceptance of neoliberal policy preferences in postsecondary education.

The development of teacher preparation in Alberta certainly appears to be influenced by trends in teacher preparation in England and the United States. These international trends include longer period of teacher preparation, an emerging dominance of the consecutive model of preparation over the concurrent model, and a strengthening participation in teacher preparation by practicing professionals who mentor student teachers in school settings.

There is evidence to suggest that policy makers in Alberta considered international trends in teacher education. Several respondents in this study reported that the BC model of extending BEd degree granting to regional university-colleges was considered by the PCAB. Dr. Murgatroyd stated that the PCAB also considered other jurisdictions: "Policy makers in this province considered the BC model of decentralization of teacher education, and we looked at what happened in the United Kingdom with the polytechnic model." Similarities in postsecondary developments in England, British Columbia, and Alberta do not appear to be a coincidence. Neoliberal pressures to restructure the university globally have effected interconnected policy developments across jurisdictions. The mandate of the PCAB, to review BEd program applications appropriate for the needs of the Alberta postsecondary environment, has led to a recognition of international trends in teacher education with regard to a longer period of teacher education in a consecutive model of training, with increased professional influence on practice teaching, and with a neoliberal focus on efficiency, excellence, and cost effectiveness.

Finally, an examination of trends in teacher preparation illuminates potential political cleavages evident in the Alberta policy process which extends BEd degree conferring. Although teacher professionalism appears to be enhanced by the trend requiring an increased teachers role in mentoring student teachers, in England teachers unions have sided with the universities and opposed implementation of change. This pattern of professional teacher coalition with the professoriate of the faculties of education is repeated in Alberta. However, the traditional partnership of the professional teachers' association in Alberta (ATA) and the faculties of education of Alberta's public universities, discussed in detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis, faces new pressures in a competitive postsecondary environment. The international trend for increased teachers' role in professional development of student teachers comes at the expense of the decreasing university role in teacher practicum. The emerging emphasis on preservice teacher education directed by practicing professionals foreshadows the ATA's considerable leverage in opposing the placement in schools of practice teachers from the private college teacher preparation programs.

CHAPTER 5
THE ADVOCACY COALITIONS IN ALBERTA

Introduction

The interview data presented in this chapter provides the perspectives of selected key stakeholder respondents in private university-colleges, the public university faculties of education, provincial civil servants, and members of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board of Alberta. The stories of these stakeholders delineate the values and composition of the competing advocacy coalitions. This chapter is divided into two main sections, each of which presents the story of the recent extension of degree conferring in Alberta postsecondary education from the viewpoint of the individual coalitions opposed to, or in favor of, the policy change. These stories are constructed primarily on the basis of audio recorded interviews with key stakeholder respondents central to the policy debate.

The advocacy coalition approach to the study of the policy process (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993) views policy change over time as a function of two sets of variables, which include interactions in the policy subsystem, and the larger political and economic system in which the policy subsystem is embedded. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith state that the policy subsystem, defined as "actors from a variety of public and private organizations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue" (p. 17), is the best unit of study for the analysis of policy change. To facilitate analysis of the views of the many actors holding diverse values in the policy subsystem, there needs to be a way to aggregate actors and their policy perceptions into useful categories. The advocacy coalition satisfies this need. Sabatier (1988) defines the advocacy coalition as:

> people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system - i.e., a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions - and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time (p. 139).

This chapter identifies the interactions of two competing advocacy coalitions within the Alberta postsecondary education policy subsystem. These advocacy coalitions consist of actors from public and private institutions and levels of government who share values about policy goals and who advocate the achievement of those policy goals. Some limitations of the advocacy coalition approach should be noted. Membership in the two advocacy coalitions is not homogeneous or mutually exclusive. That is, some individuals who could be expected to support one advocacy coalition because of their background or career orientation may disagree with their colleagues about policies to extend degree conferring in the private college sector. Some members of an advocacy coalition believe more strongly and work harder than other coalition members to achieve common goals. Finally, the advocacy coalitions, while appearing stable on specific policy issues, are sometimes unstable and may dissolve on other policy questions. For example, the apparent solidarity that the Alberta Teacher's Association (ATA) and the Faculty of Education professoriate of the University of Alberta (U of A) demonstrated when opposing in principle the Concordia University College BEd program application, was fraught with tension when the U of A Field Experiences Office cooperated with Concordia University College on administration of practicum placements.

In spite of the qualifications outlined above, composition of the two advocacy coalitions is generally delineated and predictable in the policy debate on the extension of BEd degree conferring to the private colleges of Alberta. The broad outline of the membership of the two advocacy coalitions is presented in this chapter, their perspectives on the policy change to extend BEd degree conferring are described, and the belief systems of members of the advocacy coalitions are identified.

The Advocacy Coalition Opposed to the Extension of BEd Degree Conferring Authority

There are two competing advocacy coalitions concerned with extension of BEd degree conferring in the policy subsystem. One of these includes the leadership of ATA, the professoriate of the faculties of education of the public universities of Alberta, and some civil servants in the Alberta Department of Education. Individuals in these organizations were considered as the primary constituent members of the advocacy coalition which resists the decentralization of BEd degree conferring to private colleges. In general, it could be said that members of these organizations have common interests and common understandings about the goals of the teaching profession, the value of public education, and the protection of their vested interests. There were, however, exceptions and some individuals from these organizations took exception to being associated with opposition to BEd degree conferring in the private colleges. While generally united in their opposition to extension to BEd degree conferring at the private colleges, the advocacy coalition is fragile and may collapse on other policy questions. For example, as mentioned above, the ATA has disagreed with the U of A Faculty of Education Field Experiences Office practice of cooperating with Concordia University College in the field placement of practicum students.

The advocacy coalition which consists of the ATA, the faculties of education of the public universities, and professional staff at the Alberta Department of Education is natural in the opinion of the researcher. Most of the professional staff of these organizations are educated teachers who practiced their chosen profession before furthering careers in the ATA, Alberta Education or faculties of education of the public universities of Alberta. Beyond initial education as teachers, many of the staff of the ATA and Alberta Education have also completed graduate studies degrees in the public faculties of education in Alberta. Students in graduate studies programs tend to coalesce the education community by creating cohorts of educators who build networks of contacts in the university community, the ATA, and the Alberta civil service. Their common educational preparation in undergraduate and graduate studies and their common professional roots as teachers provide the shared experiences which bind them in sensitivity to threats against the professional status and aspirations of members of the educational community. Potential legislative threats, described in Chapter 4 of this study, include motions in the Alberta Legislative Assembly to split the ATA, Bill 233 to remove the right of teachers to strike and to remove the school administrators from the ATA, Bill 210 to make ATA membership voluntary and not compulsory, and Bill 57, which makes possible the privatization of government services including those of the Alberta Department of Education. Although these measures all failed to achieve legislative support, these proposed changes to the ATA could reduce its power significantly and weaken teacher collective bargaining. The ATA characterized these legislative threats, pressures to reduce teacher salary, and other government policies as indicative of government pressures to "deprofessionalize" teachers. Many former teachers in Alberta Education and the public university faculties of education also take exception to these threats against the teaching profession.

Another significant similarity among the three groups in this advocacy coalition is that they are all directly or indirectly dependent upon the government purse. Teachers are funded indirectly by financial grants made to school boards, Alberta Department of Education staff are funded directly by the provincial government and staff in faculties of education are funded indirectly by the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development.

Dependent upon the public purse and having the experience of common training during the period of Alberta university expansion during the 1960s to the 1980s, the members of this advocacy coalition enjoyed career growth during the heyday of Keynsian fiscal stimulation of the economy when oil revenues poured into the provincial treasury. Their career memories reflect opportunity and expectations of growth. They are the products and the benefactors of the welfare state policies of the Manning, Lougheed, and Getty governments. However, in the new economic climate of the Klein government, they have become the prime targets of New Right policy objectives to retire debt and reduce the scope of government services by a reduction of the bureaucracy.

A policy shift by the provincial government to reduce funding generally, as has been the case in Alberta, adversely affects all of the members of the advocacy coalition. Since the advent of the Klein government, these groups have all suffered the common experience of staff reductions and/or a wage freeze due to provincial policies of fiscal restraint. Significant cuts in government spending in public and postsecondary education has led to calls from the ranks of this advocacy coalition for increased public spending and heightened the sense of common cause between faculties of education and the supporters of public education in the teaching profession. In the case of the employees of the Alberta Department of Education, public comment has been understandably muted by their role as the implementers of government policy. However, the downsizing of Alberta Education staff has provided a common experience for former teachers in the civil service, the ATA and the faculties of education.

Perhaps the strongest links in the advocacy coalition are between the faculties of education and the ATA. With respect to ATA support for public university faculties of education, an ATA Vice-President stated:

> Under the guise of choice, there is a subtext of undermining the domination by the universities. We have seen an attack on funding to the university. In fact, the cuts that the university has borne have been far out of proportion to what the public schools have borne. I think that this government really doesn't value universities or what universities do. They don't value public services in general, and they don't value university education in particular.

Michael Podlosky (1995), executive assistant of ATA Professional Development, urged the faculties of education to remember their common cause and maintain solidarity with the ATA:

> Alberta's economic restructuring and its ideological foundations impact teacher education generally and field experiences particularly. We can neither ignore nor believe we are immune to these developments. Threats to public education are equally threats to the professional status of teachers and teacher preparation in university faculties of education . . . It is imperative that the faculties of education continue to regard the Alberta Teachers' Association as an ally. (p. 43)

Ashford (1993) suggests that one reason for the positive relationship among organizations staffed by professionals such as the ATA, Alberta Education, and the Faculties of Education of public universities is that the members of these organizations are made up of a "new class" (p. 42) of educated professionals who have vested interests in publicly funded institutions. Those interests include protection and growth of their members and a requisite increase in expenditure for public institutions. As intellectuals and social democrats, who have more influence on the political process than in the marketplace, they favor collective decisions over market decisions. Therefore by definition, the "new class" of educated professionals, in this instance the advocacy coalition opposed to extension of degree conferring in private colleges, are ideologically opposed to the New Right policy agenda to shrink public expenditure in the very institutions the "new class" interests are dependent upon.

The educational community in the province of Ontario, like that of Alberta, is close. Mawhinney (1994b) states that the educational community in Ontario is "unique in the degree of integration of its members. . . . this study confirms the view that this community is in-bred" (p. 20). International comparisons of the composition of similar advocacy coalitions are also available. In New Zealand during the 1980s, the teachers' unions and the Department of Education had developed such a symbiotic relationship that senior officials made career moves easily from one organization to the other. By 1987, when consultative processes failed between these stakeholders on changes the government felt were needed in education, the Labour Prime Minister Lange assumed control of the Education portfolio as minister. Consultation was replaced by the new catch phrases "provider capture," "responsiveness," and "client satisfaction" (Macpherson, 1993).

Similarities can be identified in the Alberta context. First, lateral career moves of staff can be observed between the Alberta civil service and the faculties of education. For example, a few members of the faculty of education professoriate from the University of Alberta have moved seamlessly into Alberta Education, Alberta Advanced Education, and the Private Colleges Accreditation Board. More commonly, faculty of education professoriate have been contracted to do research, or to sit on government boards while continuing in their professorial roles. While staff from Barnett House, the ATA headquarters, have not moved into the civil service, virtually the entire professional staff at Alberta Education has risen from the ranks of the teaching profession, where membership in the ATA is compulsory. Occasionally, an Alberta Education staff member will move to Barnett House. For example, in November of 1998 Pat Dalton was appointed from Alberta Education to the executive staff of the ATA Teacher Welfare program area. There is also an historic relationship between the ATA and the Faculty of Education at the U of A. The first Dean of the Faculty of Education, M.E. LaZerte, left his post as President of the ATA to build the new faculty. Currently, ATA staff guest lecture, primarily in the BEd undergraduate program, but also in Faculty of Education graduate studies programs at the University of Alberta, and a few are given special recognition by the awarding of Adjunct Professor status. In addition, only active ATA members are appointed by the Faculty of Education to practicum coordinator positions in the Field Experience office and ATA staff lobby directly for candidates in the selection process for professors appointed by the faculty of education. Finally, a common bond exists because the professional staff of the ATA, Alberta Education and, the professoriate of the faculties of education are originally almost entirely members of the teaching profession with experience in public schools. Their common professional preparation and experience as teachers fosters empathy among members of the advocacy coalition for issues of common concern.

International examples of government response to teacher coalitions are also similar to the Alberta government response to the advocacy coalition opposed to the extension of degree conferring authority. In New Zealand when educational change was introduced by the government, consultation with stakeholders was "abandoned" (Macpherson, 1993). In England the Education Acts of 1980, 1981, 1986, 1988, and 1993 were all described as "nonconsultative" by Schnur and Golby (1995, p. 11). In Alberta, opponents of policy change argue, consultation was stage managed. Changes introduced by the Alberta government in higher education were accompanied by consultation at 13 regional hearings in 1993 and round table discussions in November 1993 and May 1994. These consultations were criticized by some stakeholders, including the teaching profession and university representatives, as ineffective. Marino (1995) characterized the round table consultations thus: "It was difficult for the participants to have much faith that their recommendations would have any result. [since] Some of the options reappearing [in the May roundtables] had already been rejected by the participants in the November discussion" (p. 215). However, Bosetti (1991) justified the government's prerogative to provide political solutions and argued that consensus is not necessary for policy decisions. "Complex problems would . . . never be tackled if consensus were a prerequisite to policy" (p. 218).

Recent Alberta public consultations include the 1996 survey by Treasurer Jim Dinning and the 1997 Alberta Growth Summit survey. The 1996 survey received responses from 61,000 Albertans. Of these responses, only 35% said that a faster than 25 year paydown of the provincial debt was a priority. The 1997 survey indicated that only 11% of Albertans felt that provincial debt reduction was the top issue facing Alberta

(Arnold, 1998a, p. A5). In spite of the results of these consultations with Albertans, the provincial government has pursued debt reduction religiously. According to critics, the government response to suggestions that the round table discussions were stage managed and that public consultations ignored has been a reduction of consultation and an increased public window for business perspective in policy deliberations.

In summary, the ATA, the faculties of education of Alberta public universities and some civil servants in the Alberta Department of Education constitute the bulwark of the advocacy coalition which opposes the extension of BEd degree conferring in the private colleges of Alberta. To this established network, one additional significant voice can be added. The final objectors to the continued extension of the BEd degree conferring to other postsecondary institutions is, surprisingly, the staff of the institutions recently empowered to grant BEd degrees. Dr. Horowitz foreshadowed subsequent respondent attestation:

> I have observed an interesting phenomenon, that the people who are most opposed to the extension of a privilege are those people who recently got that privilege themselves. So it doesn't surprise me that the institutions that have received this authority just recently also join the university in opposing additional extension of BEd degree conferring.

Horowitz's prediction has proved accurate, at least in the case of Concordia University College. The respondent from that institution, Bernie Potvin, stated:

> We do not want to see a proliferation of degree granting institutions getting into the job of conferring education degrees. We do not want to see a devolution of the profession. It is a profession that requires the kind of preparation that we do here at Concordia.

In summary, the advocacy coalition opposed to the extension of BEd degree conferring is generally composed of members in the following organizations: the ATA, the faculties of education of the public universities, individuals in the Alberta Department of Education, and institutions which have recently received authority to confer BEd degrees. From an introduction of the composition of this advocacy coalition, the following discussion addresses the policy change which extends BEd degree conferring in Alberta from the particular perspectives of the different stakeholders in the advocacy coalition. The stories of selected respondents in the advocacy coalition organizations, including executive members of the ATA, public university faculty of education professors, and Alberta civil servants will be presented.

The Alberta Teachers' Association

The Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA) and its predecessor, the Alberta Teachers' Alliance, have long been determined to achieve professional status for their members. The initial thrust in the Alliance's effort to enhance teacher professional status was their commitment to see teacher preparation at the University of Alberta along with that of other professions. Chalmers (1968) states that from 1924 the Alberta Teachers' Alliance "pressed for the establishment of a school or faculty of education at the provincial university, with a four-year program leading to a degree in education" (p. 90). Partly as a result of the teacher lobby, the normal schools were absorbed by the University of Alberta in 1945 and Alberta became the first province in Canada to place teacher education exclusively under university control. This was perceived as a significant success by the ATA. Andrews (1984) states: "When normal schools were incorporated into universities there resulted a substantial increase in status for the profession" (p. 266).

With teacher education at the University of Alberta achieved, the ATA worked to extend the duration of teacher preparation and thereby enhance qualification requirements for teacher certification. Because of teacher shortages due to increased demand for teachers after the post World War II baby boom, the ATA was slow to realize its goal of a minimum of four years of teacher education. In 1968 the Minister of Education announced that no new permanent teaching certificates would be issued unless the teacher completed a four year BEd degree. While many incumbent teachers in the education system did not have these qualifications, it was a turning point. Thereafter, this new requirement for permanent certification effectively ensured that all prospective teachers completed a four year BEd program.

This same period of the late 1960s, when teacher education was finally achieving the professional status that teachers had long sought, was also the time of considerable decentralization of access in Alberta postsecondary education and the creation of new colleges. Since 1967 the position of the ATA has been that at least two of the four years of teacher education should be taken on the campus of a degree-granting institution that also prepares other professionals (ATA Long-Range Policy 2.A.23). The two year education requirement at a university would entail curriculum, teaching methods and the extended practicum prerequisites of teacher certification. According to ATA respondents, the ATA accepted two year transfer programs because they were persuaded by regional college arguments in favor of accessibility and the inability of the University of Alberta to accept required numbers. However, some observers believe that the ATA compromised its vision of teacher professional education in a university setting when it conceded that the first two years of teacher education could be university transfer courses taken at a college (Williams, 1995, p. 20).

The two year transfer programs available at the public and later the private colleges were not considered a significant threat by the ATA. Nor was the advent of BA and BSc degree conferring programs at the private colleges. Transfer students would still by necessity complete their BEd degree in the public universities, and the graduates of the private college BA programs would be required to attain a BEd credential at a public university faculty of education to qualify for teacher certification. An ATA respondent stated:

> I make this distinction between the professional degree granting and the degree, for example, you get from a college in Arts. It turns from an introductory offering to a full degree offering. When we move to a professional degree in Education from a public university, that's quite another offering.

There was no prospect that any college in Alberta could attain BEd degree conferring authority until the creation of the PCAB in 1984 changed expectations in the private college sector. According to Buski, Executive Secretary of the ATA, on October 16, 1986, at the annual Education Committee of Government Caucus, the ATA had expressed to the government its opposition to the extension of any degree programs by private colleges beyond BA and BSc programs. In a paper entitled *Submission to the Education Committee of Government Caucus,* the ATA, (1986) clearly communicated its opposition to any possible role that the PCAB might play in BEd degree conferring: "The Association believes that while this procedure may be suitable for degrees in the arts and sciences it is totally inappropriate for professional degrees. The education and preparation of professionals is properly the function of the universities" (p. 8). Buski reported that after the submission, he received verbal assurances from the Administrative Assistant of Premier Don Getty that it was not the intention of the government to allow the private colleges to grant professional degrees. However, changes in the composition and leadership of the provincial government led to increased optimism by administrators and supporters of the private colleges. When discussions began and BEd degree programs were seriously contemplated by the private colleges, the ATA again acted. In September 1992 the ATA presented the PCAB a paper entitled *Submission to the Private Colleges Accreditation Board* (1992) wherein the ATA outlined its historical interests in teacher education programs and reiterated its policy position (ATA Long-Range Policy 2.A.36) requesting that the Government of Alberta limit authority to grant degrees in education to the faculties of education of Alberta public universities.

Consistent with their long-standing goal of teacher professionalism, the ATA has continued to advocate the need for teacher education at a university setting. The association believed that a significant factor in the success of teachers in Alberta is that teachers are educated "shoulder to shoulder" with other professionals and that teachers have full access to a broad range of university facilities, programs, and research staff. A Vice-President of the ATA stated:

> Changing the name to university college cuts no ice with me. The university is a different kind of place and different kind of setting and we're unequivocal in our position on this one . . . A university setting is informed by research. When we have masters and doctoral programs then immediately that kind of research comes back and changes practice . . . I believe access to people doing research with contact in the field is probably the single greatest advantage [of the university setting] beyond what is very much a status question.

The issue of status and salary of the teaching profession is always near the surface for ATA spokespersons. A provincial executive council member stated:

> We spent years and years as a profession enhancing our status by getting out of the normal schools and into the university. Why would we now want to take what will appear to a lot of people a backwards step by saying 'I'm trained in a college'? If you ask most people, 'what's the difference between a university and a college?' they see a university as a more prestigious enterprise, and quite honestly, it has something to do with salaries . . . If you wanted to drive down the cost of doing business in the area of education, how are you going to do it? Well, the biggest single area is teachers' salaries and to graduate more people from colleges where there's less status and, quite honestly, less of a call for higher salaries. If someone is college educated, as opposed to university educated, don't you think that there would be less of a push for salaries? And I think at a time when teacher status is called into question, you don't want to take a backward step, so the biggest disadvantage [to expanding BEd degree conferring to colleges] is, I think, in terms of public perception.

An ATA local president concurred with the status argument and added the complementary issue of deprofessionalization ("Teacher preparation," 1996):

> We could easily see BEd degrees granted in a proliferating number of 'university colleges' and this blatant deprofessionalization will spread. No other professional preparation programs have been approved for the private (or public) colleges - clearly teaching has been singled out for deprofessionalization. We need to ask ourselves these questions: Will the public have more respect for the teaching profession if its members are university graduates or college graduates? In which case will teachers have more status? In which case will they have higher salaries? (p. 8)

Another ATA respondent touched upon this same theme that teachers were being singled out:

> And you know this, that Education is the only professional degree offered in any of these colleges. I find it particularly troubling as a teacher that you don't see talk of a medical degree up at the colleges, or law degrees or architecture degrees. No, it's only education.

The position of the ATA was rejected by the PCAB, the Minister of Advanced Education and ultimately the provincial cabinet. However, in discussing ATA opposition to The King's University College BEd proposal, Worth stated:

> I recognize the difficulty that the ATA faced. Any time you represent an organization you have to give voice to the organization's policies. I think they did that well. If I had been in Julius' [ATA executive secretary] shoes, I would have argued the same way, because that's the association's policy. But I think it wasn't a position that our board (PCAB) could support.

Finally, although the ATA recognized that it had lost a battle on the BEd degree conferring front, it has not conceded on the principle underpinning their position. The ATA has not retired from the field of debate over teacher professionalism or the status of teacher education programs. An ATA Vice-President argued:

> At a time when more and more demands are put on teachers, when everyone can concede that, if anything, teachers need a more sophisticated kind of preparation; instead we have a government saying, 'why don't we cut costs and undermine the status of teaching? Teaching can be something that you can get in college'. I would rather be fighting a different battle you know. I would be fighting the battle to try to enhance and promote the kind of public education we need as we lurch into this next century, instead of fighting rearguard actions on things that clearly undermine professional status . . . The single biggest emotion that I feel is a kind of sadness, but I will tell you that sadness is not going to deter me for one minute from standing up on this one because I feel extremely strongly about it, and so do a lot of others. And the fight, quite honestly, is not over.

The ATA leadership believes that it is necessary to oppose new private college BEd degree programs to protect the status of teachers as professionals. They fear that other private colleges will attempt to achieve BEd degree conferring status including possibly St. Mary's College in Calgary, Canadian Union College in Lacombe, and Augustana College in Camrose. An elected ATA respondent stated:

> So it won't end with Concordia and King's. The teaching profession won't simply say 'Oh well. its a fait accompli, let's just accept it.' We'll resist in the only way we can. But we have lost so far because the power is in the hands of a right wing caucus that seems to take every opportunity to underfund public education, along with deregulation, deskilling, privatization, de-professionalization, and union busting.

Discussion. The position of the ATA has been consistent. Their long term view has been to enhance the status of teachers. Its concern over the setting of teacher education in the university as opposed to the college system stems from its focus on teacher status. ATA objections to degree conferring authority by the private colleges began only when BEd programs were initially proposed. After the private colleges achieved BEd transfer courses, it was probably predictable that they would attempt to employ the PCAB to enable their growth to full degree teacher preparation programs. However, to be fair to the position of the ATA, Horowitz, a former Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta and chair of the independent team which evaluated The King's University College BEd proposal, has argued that professional associations can be expected to enter the professional degree conferring debate only when their professional interests are at stake. For example, Horowitz stated: "I predict that APEGGA [Association of Professional Engineers, Geologists and Geophysicists of Alberta], the engineering fraternity, will be absolutely silent until there are discussions as to whether an engineering program can be offered in one of the colleges." Worth, former chair of the PCAB, provided a similar argument: "Resistors are occupational or professional associations, like the ATA with respect to the BEd. But the association of accountants have also been somewhat resistant to an increase in awarding of business degrees by private colleges."

The ATA can be expected to continue its vocal opposition to BEd programs in the private and public colleges. As the organization with the most to lose in the extension of BEd degree conferring, the ATA can be expected to oppose this policy and the general thrust by the government toward private education and programs of choice. The ATA has clearly identified the fundamentalist right as the keystone advocates of the policies of the New Right which the government has embraced. Leaders in the ATA appear to be fighting a rearguard action. They understand that advocates of the New Right in Alberta have threatened their monopoly as an association to represent teachers (supra, p. 88) and their status in Alberta. While the ATA leadership argues that they are only doing what is in the best interests of teachers and public education in Alberta, the advocacy coalition in favor of the new teacher preparation programs considers the ATA as an obstacle of educational reform.

The ATA is the key organization in the advocacy coalition opposed to the extension of new degree conferring teacher preparation programs, but the faculties of education of the public universities of Alberta are closely allied with this same opposition. After the ATA, the faculties of education stand to lose the most because the considerable undergraduate enrollments of the public university faculties of education and their concomitant fees are at risk of loss to new competitive programs.

The Faculties of Education of Alberta Public Universities

The professoriate of the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, have long had a close affinity with the ATA. The first Dean of the Faculty of Education (U of A), M.E. Lazerte, was a past president of the ATA. Another indication of the close dialogue that existed between members of these organizations for more that seven decades is the existence of the Education Society of Edmonton. This private and exclusive club of educators, established in 1927, counted among its membership U of A Deans of Education Lazerte, Smith, and Coutts, U of A Presidents Stewart, Johns and Horowitz, ATA presidents Newland, Smith, Gimby, and Lazerte, and ATA leaders Keeler and Buski (Chambers, 1988).

Like the ATA, which lobbied for the closure of the normal schools and the professionalization of teacher education in the university, the new Faculty of Education at the U of A had much to gain. From humble beginnings in 1945, the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta has attained student enrollments of almost 3,000 undergraduate and 1,000 graduate students. The Faculties of Education at the universities of Calgary and Lethbridge have similar interests to those of the U of A and have enrollments potentially at risk from new teacher education programs. Skolnik (1987) anticipated Alberta public faculties of education opposition to extending degree conferring authority with his observation that "one should not be surprised to see those who have the greatest stake in existing degree granting institutions calling for stringent controls on the entry of other institutions into this market" (p. 65).

Interview data collected in this study suggest that there are similarities in the policy positions of professors from the public faculties of education and the policy positions of the ATA. Three examples of the closeness of the positions of the ATA and those of individual faculty of education professors in the public universities of Edmonton, Calgary, and Lethbridge, are provided. In the first example, using language that mirrors that used by the ATA, Ken Jacknicke (1995), then chair of the Department of Secondary Education, U of A, recommended that "teacher education should continue to be housed in university faculties of education in a well established partnership between universities and schools" (p. 23). For the second example, at the University of Calgary Faculty of Education (as in other Alberta faculties of education), the partnership between the ATA and the faculty is evident in their close cooperation in the practicum program. The U of C has allowed devolution of the practicum component of preservice teacher education to the Alberta Teachers' Association Calgary Area Field Experiences

Committee (CAFEC) to the extent that head of the practicum program stated: "Today the practicum is essentially out of the hands of the University of Calgary Faculty of Education" (Gougeon, 1995, p. 37). One final example of the closeness of the ATA position with that of individual professors in faculties of education of the public universities is offered. With respect to teacher certification, the official ATA position is that the government should relinquish control of teacher certification and the ATA be granted control (Kruk, 1995, p. 70). In discussion of government policy on teacher certification, Frank Sovka of the Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge, used language similar in tone to that of the ATA. Sovka (1995) discussed the continuing Alberta government control of teacher certification thus: "Policy changes enacted by the government in both the economic and social sectors are ideologically based . . . The key to controlling education is to control the profession. The message of deregulation, de-professionalization, privatization and centralization is evident in the policy" (p. 69).

Because the policy preferences of many professors from public faculties of education are often similar to those of the ATA, it is no surprise that, the faculties of education of the three public universities of Alberta remain opposed to the extension of BEd programs in the private colleges of Alberta. John Paterson, Associate Dean of External Relations for the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta and former Chair of the PCAB, stated the public universities' position unequivocally:

> The official position of the faculty here, and it's also the official position of the Faculties of Education of the University of Calgary and the University of Lethbridge, is that no teacher preparation degree programs should be granted outside of a university setting.

The University of Alberta, as the oldest and largest university in the province of Alberta, has a vested interest in maintaining its dominance in the conferring of degrees. Its administration has advised caution with regards to Advanced Education's provision of a greater role for public and private colleges. Doug Owram, Vice-President Academic of the University of Alberta, however, refers to the selfsame argument made by the ATA about concern for quality. "The province has to be very careful to maintain the quality of education." ("New Degree Programs," 1997, p. A5). When discussion about the place of private colleges in relation to university education first appeared in the early 1980s, Dr. Myer Horowitz was President of the University of Alberta and chair of the Universities Coordinating Council. Horowitz has always been public about his strong opposition to the extension of degree granting at any public or private college. He stated: "How could I quarrel with the general ATA position that they didn't want more institutions offering BEd degrees? After all, that's my position." Other respondents concurred that the public university faculties of education opposed new teacher education programs. Walter Worth, former PCAB chair, and Heather Montgomerie, public member of the PCAB from 1991 to 1997, both identified the public universities as opponents of the extension of BEd degree conferring.

Early deliberations of the PCAB resulted in recommendations to the government to grant authority for private colleges to confer BA and BSc degrees. Although the public universities opposed the private colleges, they were unable to sustain the necessary pressure to counterbalance the forces in favor of private postsecondary degree conferring. Worth described the outcome thus: "The Universities Coordinating Council, which was initially resistant to the idea of degree conferring by the private colleges, eventually acquiesced when they thought that their participation on the PCAB ensured standards and quality in postsecondary education." With respect to the impact of the new degree programs on the existing public universities, the universities, which granted thousands of degrees per year, could hardly expect to be affected by the private colleges which proposed to grant baccalaureate degrees which would be counted in hundreds.

According to Worth, when the PCAB first considered the possibility of a BEd degree application from Canadian Union College in 1984, the Board realized that the public universities opposition to degree conferring would be supported strongly by the ATA. Therefore, the PCAB procedures for evaluating applications for BEd degree conferring authority was changed to differ from the process for dealing with BA and BSc degree applications. The new procedure recognized the fact that the decision to empower BEd degree conferring would be met by much stronger opposition and that the decision would have important political ramifications. Worth stated that the change in PCAB application for BEd conferring authority was

> designed to give the Minister of Advanced Education the opportunity to make an early political decision or to be alerted that this political decision would be coming. The assumption was that the Minister would talk to people in the ATA, the universities, and other representatives, and would balance off all the political considerations.

The applications for BEd programs by King's College and Concordia College were successful (details of this process follow in this chapter). The PCAB recommended to the Minister of Advanced Education that these private colleges be empowered to grant the BEd degree, and the government, after some delay, provided the authority to do so.

Eventually, when it became apparent that opposition to private college BEd programs by the Faculties of Education of the public universities was unsuccessful, some members of the faculties became resigned to the new reality. Horowitz stated: "It will continue to trouble me. My general opposition to a proliferation of degree conferring has not changed, although I'm prepared to work within the reality of what has developed."

When the private colleges were able to attain degree conferring authority via PCAB recommendations to the government, administrators in the public colleges began to consider the possibilities of attaining degree conferring authority as well. Reno Bosetti, former Deputy Minister of the Alberta Department of Education stated: "Inside the chest of every college president beats the heart of a university president." The perception in the universities that private college success in attaining degree conferring authority had caused pressure in the public colleges was suggested by Paterson:

> I feel that granting professional degrees to private colleges has muddied the waters. Three years ago there was great impetus in Grande Prairie and Red Deer to grant degrees in the public colleges. Now these institutions are working with established universities which grant on-site U of A degrees in Red Deer and Grande Prairie. The U of C and the U of L are also both in partnership agreements with public colleges. Eventually, you could expect that more colleges could become university- colleges with degree conferring authority. That probably is the trend. With a stroke of a pen they created eighty-four more universities in England. Just boom! The technical institutes became universities.

Not surprisingly, university administrators maintain that degree conferring should remain in the domain of the public universities but would concede that public colleges be permitted to offer full degree transfer programs with the actual degrees conferred by public universities in affiliation with the public colleges. This position is rooted in the university interest to control degree conferring and their concern about quality of new degree programs ("New Degree Programs," 1997, p. A5).

Similar to the ATA position that professional preparation of teachers needs to take place in the university setting with other professional programs, university respondents provided the same rationale. An education professor stated:

> Education struggled very hard in this province to be recognized as a profession. Teachers were trained in Normal Schools. All other professionals in Commerce, Law, Medicine, and Dentistry received Bachelor's degrees from the university. The argument proposed by the ATA and the Faculty of Education was that teacher preparation should not be separated from the preparation of other professionals.

Surprisingly though, while faculty of education professors opposed private college BEd programs on the grounds that they isolate teachers from other professionals in training, they accepted the concept of BEd degree outreach programs offered by the public universities in regional public colleges. When asked if a U of A BEd outreach program offered at Grande Prairie presented the same problem of isolation of teachers not prepared "shoulder to shoulder" with other professionals, Paterson replied:

> These students are not cut off from research or library facilities because they have full access to the university library as soon as they enroll in that program. Many of the students are on campus here spring or summer; some are not. But all of them have the opportunity to access the same professors, the same research, the same thesis material. There is no difference, other than how long it takes to send a fax, between Grande Prairie and the university campus in Edmonton, so they are not isolated at all. As long as the degree is being offered by the faculty, then the students have to meet the same standards.
>
> The Grande Prairie and Red Deer programs are cooperative programs and I'm completely supportive. I think we have to deliver programs, and in the future you'll find this happening in business, arts and science and other faculties as well. In Fort McMurray there's tremendous pressure to get joint degrees offered. So I see these as very positive.

Interestingly, supporters of extension of degree conferring to private colleges saw this logic as comforting. They suggested that private college students are also close to the university with technology, and that they have full library access to research and theses available at any university. With respect to the issues of standards, private university-college spokespersons reasoned that their programs standards were verified by the PCAB before new degree programs were recommended for accreditation.

Although Paterson was optimistic about outreach programs offered by public universities in regional community colleges, he also recognized the problem that university outreach degree programs present for public universities:

> The downside to the collaborative degree programs offered at the public colleges is, of course, once you have an experimental program in Grande Prairie or Red Deer for two years, naturally the local people want to incorporate it into the college and make it an independent program, so you're constantly fighting local pressure.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that pressure for increased autonomy by public colleges from university affiliation requirements has grown. Consistent with the traditional position of the public universities, Doug Owram, Academic Vice-President of the U of A, responded to the significant December 19, 1997, announcement that private colleges would no longer need affiliation agreements with Alberta Universities to grant degrees. Owram urged the government to be cautious about which institutions it allows to grant degrees and added that affiliation with university provides an added standards check for the system ("New Degree Programs," 1997, p. A5).

Alberta Education Civil Servants

Although civil servants in the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development have advanced the policy initiatives of elected members of the government, there is much evidence to support the contention of respondents that many of these civil servants opposed the extension of BEd programs to the private college sector. Indeed, opposition in Alberta Education to new BEd programs in private colleges during the genesis of the King's and Concordia programs, extended all the way to the top of the organizational pyramid. The former Deputy Minister of Education, Reno Bosetti, publicly voiced his disagreement with the policy to extend BEd degree conferring to the private colleges. Julius Buski, Executive Secretary of the ATA from 1990 to 1998, and also personally involved in the policy deliberations, agreed that in the debate on this matter, Bosetti was an ally of the ATA position. Other observers further from the center of the debate have suggested that a change in policy direction as significant as the extension of BEd degree conferring to private colleges could not have occurred without the blessing of the influential Deputy Minister Bosetti. The evidence available, however, indicates that in spite of Bosetti's personal opposition to the extension of BEd degree conferring by the private colleges, he was able only to delay the policy outcome.

When Gordon Mowat, Chairman of the PCAB wrote a letter to Deputy Minister Bosetti dated April 13, 1987, setting forth a process by which Alberta Education and the PCAB could deal with potential applications by private colleges to offer BEd degrees, Bosetti responded to Mowat's suggested process by writing to Gerry Heck, Chairman of the Council on Alberta Teaching Standards (COATS). This letter, described as a delaying tactic by Buski, asserted the authority of the Minister of Education. It stated:

> Although the Minister of Advanced Education, acting on the advice of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board, has the authority to approve the granting of degree programs from private colleges, the Minister of Education is the final authority for issuing teacher certificates and, as such, has a fundamental interest in the quality and nature of BEd degree programs. (Bosetti, 1987, p. 1)

Further, Bosetti proposed that COATS study the matter of private college BEd degree conferring and "examine the substantive issue of whether private colleges should offer BEd programs" (p. 2).

The Council on Alberta Teaching Standards (COATS) was established in 1985 by Ministerial Order, and its mandate was to provide advice and recommendations to the Minister of Education on matters related to teaching, including teacher certification, teacher education, practice review, teacher excellence and other matters of interest to the Minister. The membership of the COATS Board, all appointed by the Minister of Education, consisted of five practicing teachers; one representative from each of the

Alberta School Boards Association, the College of Alberta School Superintendents, the Alberta Teacher's Association, the Faculties of Education, and Alberta Education; and a public member. In addition, the Registrar of Alberta Education serves as the ex officio Executive Secretary of COATS. Nine of the 12 members of COATS, including the five teachers, one ATA representative, one Faculty of Education representative and the two Alberta Education members, could be expected to oppose an extension of BEd degree conferring by the private colleges. It is in this light that Buski described Bosetti's request to chairman of COATS as a delaying tactic.

As could be expected, Heck, on behalf of COATS, replied to Bosetti by letter dated December 4, 1987, and explained that the COATS Board opposed the awarding of BEd degrees by private colleges. In supporting the status quo, Heck (1987) communicated to Bosetti that

> The Council expresses the view that the three Alberta Universities continue to maintain the responsibility for awarding BEd degrees including the professional teacher education component, while recognizing that private colleges could continue to enter into affiliation agreements with the universities to offer first and second year courses toward the BEd degree program. (p. 1)

COATS also provided rationale for not supporting private college BEd programs.

Presumably, Bosetti presented the COATS recommendation to the Minister of Education because the Minister, Nancy Betkowski, adopted verbatim the COATS status quo position cited above. In a memorandum to the Minister of Advanced Education, Dave Russell, dated January 22, 1988, Betkowski (1988) reiterated the COATS position and stated "Although the pressure will still come from the private colleges, I think it would be a mistake to award Bachelor of Education degree granting status to the private colleges" (p. 2).

Dave Russell, Minister of Advanced Education, replied to Betkowski by memorandum dated March 3, 1988. In this memorandum, Russell (1988) appears to have agreed to a delay in the process:

> College officials are strongly committed to developing a proposal for an education degree, and one can be expected within the next 2-3 years. They were told that such a proposal could not be seriously reviewed by the respective departments until a reasonable level of endorsement has been obtained from the teachers' and school trustees associations, COATS and the universities. College officials recognize it is to their benefit to achieve a greater level of maturity in the eyes of the academic community through the graduation of a sufficient number of three-year baccalaureate students. (p. 1)

It appears evident from the preceding correspondence that Bosetti did not agree with the private colleges attaining BEd degree conferring authority and was able to delay the process for several years. There is also other evidence to suggest that Alberta Education, during the Bossetti era, actively opposed extension of BEd degree conferring authority. Stephen Murgatroyd, the representative of Athabasca University on the PCAB, contended that Alberta Education played a role in opposing the Canadian Union College application for authority to offer a BEd program. Murgatroyd reported that Alberta Education forwarded a letter to the PCAB opposing the approval of any new BEd programs after the PCAB recommended to the government approval for the King's and Concordia BEd programs. Although this researcher has been unable to obtain a copy of the letter, Heather Montgomerie, also a member of the PCAB at this time, confirmed its existence.

Walter Worth, chair of the PCAB during this period, corroborated that there was pressure to halt the establishment of new teacher preparation programs. After applications to the PCAB for BEd programs had been initiated by The King's College, Concordia College, and Canadian Union College, Worth was urged by the office of the Minister of Advanced Education and Career Development to recommend for approval only two new teacher preparation programs. However, Worth and the PCAB believed that their role was to evaluate the competence of the program applications and not to choose which programs would be approved or rejected. The King's BEd program application was by this time already substantially complete. Concordia College was also well along in its application process, but the Canadian Union College proposal was still in its preliminary stages. The PCAB continued to evaluate the merits of the respective degree programs and left the political decision of rejection or approval to the government. After a positive recommendation by the PCAB, and considerable delay by the government, The King's College BEd proposal was approved. The following year the Concordia College application was recommended for approval by the PCAB, and the government also approved this degree program. The Canadian Union application failed, but the impetus for rejection was political in nature. The government had already decided that there would be a moratorium on further extension of this degree granting authority after the approval of the King's and Concordia BEd programs. Worth stated that communication from the ministers office indicated that

> we will only approve in total two applications for a BEd. It was left to the PCAB to decide which of these applications to advance. We were reluctant to choose. We kept saying that this shouldn't be our responsibility. Our thinking was that we would move ahead and deal with applications as they came in, and if the Minister wanted to turn down Concordia or Canadian Union later on in the process, he could.

Respondents have indicated that politically, the government felt that additional approvals of new BEd programs could have produced a political backlash and that a pause was expedient. The Minister of Education during the Concordia College and Canadian Union College BEd applications was Halvar Jonson. He was a former president of the ATA and was presumably accessible to the ATA lobby. He was also faced with the potential prospect of applications for BEd programs from Augustana College and from the Grande Prairie College, which was offering a four year BEd degree in affiliation with the U of A Faculty of Education. The Concordia College application was recommended for approval by the PCAB but remained on the Minister's desk for a long time before it received political approval. At about this time Worth stated that "I think Reno Bosetti advised Mr. Johnson, 'Let's hold back on this and stop.'" No new teacher education programs have received degree conferring authority since.

To this point in the discussion, opposition of the civil service toward extension of BEd programs to private colleges has focused on the highest levels of the civil service. At working levels of the Department of Education, its Teacher Certification Branch is a good example of how members of Alberta Education are sensitive to the ATA's goal of attaining control of teacher certification. Professional staff at the Teacher Certification Branch understood that if the Delegated Administration Act (Bill 57), which was introduced in October of 1994 but allowed to die on the order paper, had passed, the government could have privatized many government services and perhaps removed from Alberta Education the responsibility for teacher certification. A more likely scenario, however, would see teacher certification "offloaded" to the ATA Teacher Qualifications Service (TQS) office, which currently provides individual teachers an evaluation of their university education for salary purposes. This service generally duplicates the review of teacher education done by the Teacher Certification Branch. Members of the government caucus have advocated for a division of the ATA (for example, see Chapter 4 for a discussion of Bill 210 and Bill 233). In BC, when the British Columbia Teacher's Federation (BCTF) was split into a College of Teachers and a union by a hostile Social Credit government, the College of Teachers was granted responsibility for teacher certification. No staff member from the BC Ministry of Education was retained in teacher certification by the BC College of Teachers. According to an Alberta Education respondent, professional staff at the Teacher Certification Branch show solidarity with the ATA because if their jobs were to be declared redundant by privatization of the Branch's functions, these staff would welcome an opportunity to move to a College of Teachers certification office rather than a privatized certification organization authorized by a reintroduced Bill 57.

This final motivation for Alberta Education staff, fear of losing their jobs in the Teacher Certification Branch to a professional college of teachers, although a factor, was not recognized as a significant rationale by other civil servant respondents. A credible respondent analyzed differently the close proximity of the ATA and Alberta Education positions. He suggested that in 1994 the Minister of Education, Halvar Jonson, was attempting to implement significant policy changes, including Reno Bosetti's brainchild equity finance scheme, mandatory school board amalgamations, and a proposal to review teaching quality standards. Two of these changes, fiscal equity and school board amalgamation, placed Alberta Education at loggerheads with the school boards. A well placed Alberta Education respondent stated:

> If you believe that teachers are the key factor in public education, which is our assumption at the Department, then what are the government's levers of control? We only have certification and our input on teaching quality standards. Exactly at a time when we were attempting to implement fiscal equity and board amalgamations against the wishes of school boards and negotiate teaching quality standards introduced in the government business plan, it would have been impolitic not to cooperate with the ATA. Alberta Education didn't want to fight with the teachers. Halvar had his hands full.

This line of thought makes sense because the ATA was relatively silent in public policy debates about fiscal equity and school district amalgamations. However, whether or not this silence was bought with concessions on teaching quality standards or if the ATA had any expectations about successfully obstructing the private BEd programs is unknown to the researcher. Certainly, the ATA respondents expressed disappointed and surprise that BEd degree conferring authority was granted to private colleges.

Discussion. The ATA and the public universities' faculties of education share much in common with respect to their opposition to new teacher education degree programs in the private colleges. Members of the ATA consider the new BEd programs a threat to professional status which they feel would be diluted by association with inferior teacher preparation programs in the private colleges. Staff in the faculties of education of the public universities of Alberta wish to maintain their market share of enrollments and thereby ensure continued funding. Murgatroyd, a proponent of neoliberal ideology and former consultant to the government, described the alliance of the faculties of education with the ATA as follows:

> We have a cartel of narrow minded university deans who tried to prevent the development of new models for BEd degrees, supported by a union that had no

> logical argument to put against the development of BEd degrees in the private colleges. It was an emotional argument that failed to convince even the former ATA members sitting on the PCAB.

In many ways, the positions of the ATA and the public universities to the extension of degree conferring authority by the private colleges has been similar. For example, ATA members and some of the professoriate of the public universities faculties of education initially challenged the credibility and competence of the private colleges to offer full degree teacher preparation programs until the PCAB stated unequivocally that the BEd programs of King's and Concordia were sound. The ATA membership and the faculties of education staff in the public universities also responded similarly to the advent of initial two year university transfer programs and then full four year university degree programs offered by public universities and brokered in public colleges. Only in response to pressures for improved access did the ATA and faculties of education accept for transfer from the public and private colleges the first two years of BEd studies.

Cleavages do, however, exist between the positions of the ATA and the faculties of education of the public universities. In the last half decade the public university faculties of education in Alberta have begun offering full four year BEd programs in regional public colleges. This would appear to contradict the traditional position of the ATA who support teacher preparation "shoulder to shoulder" with other professional preparation programs in public universities. The public university faculties of education certainly have interests to protect. They need to be responsive to regional demands for access and protect their student market share against private college programs and competition from the other public faculties of education. As a result of public university BEd outreach programs in the public colleges, the ATA has softened its traditional position opposing full BEd programs outside of a university setting. At the 1998 ARA was passed policy resolution 2A 23.5, which accepts public college BEd programs as long as the degree is controlled by a faculty of education and the degree is conferred by a public university. An ATA respondent stated that teacher preparation "shoulder to shoulder" with other professionals argument was still a "fundamental" position which the association would pursue vis-à-vis the private colleges but that this "evolution" of policy regarding public college BEd programs was a "tradeoff to head off at the pass public college applications for BEd degree conferring authority." There appears to be, however, a debate among ATA members about the "compromise" that a change in ATA policy meant for teacher status in the long term. ATA respondents offered that the traditional argument about teacher preparation "shoulder to shoulder" with other professionals had been adversely affected by the new policy which accepted public college BEd outreach programs.

The ATA concession to the faculties of education for full BEd degree programs in regional public colleges is difficult to interpret. It appears that the ATA is more unified in its opposition to the private Christian colleges who champion choice and diversity, values that run counter to the value of homogeneity espoused by the advocates of public education. There is also considerable support in Grande Prairie, Red Deer, and Medicine Hat for teacher preparation programs that provide access for local students, practicum students for local schools, and a supply of new teachers for the local school boards. It also makes sense that the ATA would accept BEd outreach programs as a compromise to help restrain full BEd degree conferring authority in the public colleges. Perhaps for all of these reasons, the ATA has conducted a spirited campaign against the private college BEd programs while making concessions for university brokered public college BEd programs promoted by their traditional ally, the faculties of education in public universities.

Finally, although the position of civil servants in Alberta Education is publicly neutral, there is evidence that the department is sympathetic to arguments made by the ATA and public university faculties of education. Correspondence of a former Minister of Education and a former Deputy Minister of Education and the similarity of policy is indicative of their collective opposition to the extension of BEd conferring to the private colleges.

The advocacy coalition opposing the extension of degree conferring teacher preparation programs in the private and public colleges of Alberta consists of the ATA, the faculties of education of the public universities, and some civil servants in the Department of Education. This coalition of professionals has historically been able to influence educational policy in Alberta. However, in the policy debate to extend BEd degree conferring authority to the private colleges, this coalition was unsuccessful in halting the policy change.

In Britain the idea of a broad "professional network", similar to the advocacy coalition of teacher professionals described above was introduced by Wistow and cited by Dowding (1995, pp. 143-144). Wistow found that in the British health system professionals dominated health policy and that the government was able to change the nature of health policy only by ignoring or bypassing the policy community of professionals. Similarly, in Alberta the Klein government has changed BEd degree granting policy and bypassed the wishes and recommendations of the dominant professional community. Ralph Klein has stated that the government is aware of opposition to government policy and has generalized their position as "about our critics, let me just say this: they are easily identifiable as being comfortable with the status quo" (Lisac, 1995, p. 204).

The Advocacy Coalition in Favor of Extension of BEd Degree Conferring Authority

The advocacy coalition supporting increased decentralization of degree conferring in the BEd and other baccalaureate programs consists of the private colleges, public colleges, advocates of regional economic development, members of the government, individuals in the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development who are following the policy initiatives of elected officials, and the Private Colleges Accreditation Board of Alberta (PCAB). The rationale for support of postsecondary decentralization by these groups is varied, but their goal is mutual.

The private and public colleges want degree conferring, for as John Ballheim, President of DeVry College, stated:

> There seems to be a feeling among many businesses that a bachelor's degree means something. To the extent that the bachelor's degree is used as a screening device by employers, institutions will have an incentive to offer degrees. Colleges therefore want to become full bachelor degree institutions for the same reasons that the universities don't want them to achieve bachelor degree conferring; it brings more credibility to the colleges.

Advocates of regional development desire institutional development in their communities for status, tax base, and more economical postsecondary access for local students. Dennison (1992) stated that community groups recognize the value of a university as "an important stimulus to regional economic growth and diversification" (p. 118). In Alberta, advocates of regional development lobbied Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLA's), who in turn pressured the cabinet and civil service. The PCAB, as an evaluative arm of Advanced Education and Career Development, advanced the government's predisposition to extend degree conferring to a broader base of institutions.

Civil servants in Advanced Education and subsequently the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development have supported the government position to extend degree conferring in the private colleges since the early 1980s. Evidence of this support is twofold. In the first instance, Advanced Education advocated the establishment of the PCAB, achieved in 1984, whose prime function was to enable private colleges to achieve degree conferring authority. Further evidence which suggested Advanced Education support for extension of degree conferring authority is found in a memorandum from the Minister of Advanced Education, David Russell, to the Minister of Education, Nancy Betkowski, dated March 3, 1988. In this memorandum Russell stated his department's position with respect to an expected BEd application from The King's College that "apart from funding concerns, Advanced Education does not have any objections to the principle of private colleges seeking approval to grant professional degrees" (p. 2).

There are two important rationale for Advanced Education staff to support the extension of degree conferring status in private colleges. The first was declining public funding for postsecondary education. The Advanced Education and Career Development budget in 1993 was reduced by $135 million, or 15.8% (Lisac, 1995). During this same period, the department targeted a goal to increase student places by 10,000. Private colleges could contribute increased student places at no cost to the department. Of course, growth of private colleges also enabled increased choice and competition, attributes which complemented the emerging ideological predisposition of the government.

A second important factor in the Advanced Education and Career Development support of new postsecondary degree programs was the government's and the department's philosophical propensity to consider the importance of industrial development and employment created by a highly educated workforce. To illustrate, a respondent stated: "The advantages to extending degree conferring, excluding accessibility, are mainly accrued by the clientele, the businesses, and the communities, to the degree that economic development occurs through a more highly trained workforce." Indeed, the joining of the Departments of Advanced Education and Economic Development in 1994 signaled the government's view of the symbiotic relationship between the two departments. With respect to job creation and economic development following postsecondary education, the President of DeVry College stated his belief that

> all postsecondary institutions must become more responsive to marketplace needs, but its very difficult under our current government governance of colleges and universities, to force institutions to be responsive. If the government opens the doors to private institutions, private institutions can bring more job preparation skills to postsecondary education. The government thinks that more students will be attracted to the kind of education and that will bring competitive forces to the public institutions.

Support by the government and the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development for private postsecondary education can at least in part be attributed to two factors. The first of these factors is the private colleges' competitive responsiveness to industry needs for educated employees. The second factor relates the private college delivery of these postsecondary training programs to the educational marketplace at little cost to the government.

In addition to the stakeholders listed above, several other organizations also supported the new private college BEd programs, including the College of Alberta Superintendents, the Alberta School Boards Association, Edmonton Catholic School Board, Edmonton Public School Board, and the Association of Independent Schools and Colleges of Alberta. Support from these organizations was based on the potential of new teacher education programs to be innovative and on the fact that the programs provided better access for students living outside of major centers and an abundant supply of practice teachers for schools in the regions distant from the public universities.

Although the public debate about the extension of degree conferring in private colleges has been relatively recent and, in the case of the King's BEd program, vociferous, the advocates of extension of degree conferring are not confined to aspirants of the private college system. Stephen Murgatroyd, formerly of Athabasca University, defined the proponents broadly as people who wanted

> increased flexibility and access to degrees from their workplaces or from their homes or from their community, and the owners of institutions that think they're ready to offer degrees. The advantages of extending degree conferring are in increased access, increased choice of program, program variety, increased flexibility for learners, increased ability to transfer credits from one institution to another, and increased competition.

In recognizing the base of support for the extension of degree conferring in Alberta, the private colleges were able to mount a successful lobby for degree conferring status. The advocacy coalition consisted of individuals and groups with similar interests and values who were able to influence the government to shift policy in postsecondary education toward increased flexibility, choice, access and competition.

Although there was a coalition advocating decentralization of degree conferring, the private colleges had the most to gain and were the most vociferous in pressing their cause. The private colleges needed growth in the 1980s to develop a critical mass of student enrollment to ensure economic viability. However, increasing enrollment was difficult considering the private colleges' high tuition and limited program offerings. Worth suggested that a significant source of impetus for the private colleges to lobby for degree conferring authority was as follows: "The aspiration of the private colleges and the lobbying efforts that they undertook to achieve those aspirations was because the private colleges became increasingly aware that their status and continuing economic viability was dependent upon getting degree granting status."

The lobby efforts by advocates of private education and private colleges were effectively spearheaded by the Association of Independent Schools and Colleges of Alberta (AISCA). With respect to AISCA, which was their main adversary in the policy process by which private colleges attained BEd degree conferring status, an ATA respondent suggested that the ATA leadership had

> never seen such an organized lobby as on The King's College/Concordia College question. The Association of Independent Schools and Colleges are the same people who put out, we are told, 90,000 letters on the question of funding for private schools. There's a push out there to promote private education at public cost.

Julius Buski concurred that the private education lobby is formidable. In the *Seventy-Eighth Annual Representative Assembly MINUTES* (ATA, 1995) record of the debate on the resolution that required teachers to refuse to participate in practicum programs of the private colleges, Buski provided his perspective of the strength of the private college lobby: "While the motion did not single out The King's College, the lobbying by that institution to defeat the motion had been the strongest such effort he had experienced in his time as executive secretary" (p. 47). Although the AISCA effectively lobbied for the rights of private education and played a coordinating role, individual private colleges also played an active role in furthering their degree conferring aspirations.

The advocacy coalition which supported an extension of degree conferring authority to the private colleges appears to have been effective beyond its numbers. In commenting on the strength of the New Right to achieve university restructuring on a global level Pannu et al. (1994) stated:

> Networks of representatives from business and the state have provided a new means for dominant interest to assert their influence. The ability of this network to develop the public policies most needed . . . and to communicate them in electoral campaigns, government lobbying, etc., has been one of the factors impelling welfare state retrenchment. (p. 512)

This quotation was not directed at the extension of degree conferring in Alberta or the financial and policy constraints on public universities, but it clearly has identified the international strength of private postsecondary interests which are also evident in the Alberta context.

The Private Colleges

The movement to support the extension of degree conferring by the private colleges of Alberta has been active and growing for over two decades. Walter Worth, who was Deputy Minister of Advanced Education from 1972-75, stated that Canadian Union College expressed interest to the government in 1974 for permission to initiate a BEd degree program. Although they were unsuccessful in this initial attempt to obtain a degree conferring program recognized by Alberta Advanced Education, Canadian Union College did establish an affiliation agreement to offer a teacher education program through Nebraska Union College. The government recognized that an accreditation procedure was needed in Alberta, and the Private Colleges Accreditation Board was established in 1984 to evaluate private college degree program proposals.

Pressure in support of private college degree programs appears to be coming from the same coalition of people who support private schools and increase in public funding for private schools of choice. One respondent identified this pressure for policy change:

> The push for funding of private schools, alternative schools and charter schools, this whole push has come from not just the right, but the religious right, the Protestant fundamentalist right. There is the interweaving of a lot of forces, not just an isolated question of postsecondary teacher education. It has a much larger political and economic and social context, and then you have to add on the religious kinds of questions. When all of those forces come together, that's when you start to see really strong feelings that come from religious kinds of connections.

Larry Booi, Vice-President of the ATA, confirmed the breadth of the coalition for change in education policy and indicated his respect for their effectiveness in lobbying:

> I've never taken as much heat in anything during my involvement in the ATA except on two connected items. One was the business of degree granting status in King's and Concordia. I took more flak on the articles that I wrote and position that I took than I've taken on anything else with the single exception of alternate schools. We were subjected to a massive campaign on that one as well. And basically, it's the same group of people.

The Association of Independent Schools and Colleges of Alberta (AISCA) is the political action centre for lobbying support for private education in Alberta. Founded in 1958, AISCA has promoted the right of parents to determine the education of their children. Their lobby efforts have been significantly successful. Since 1967 funding for private accredited schools has risen from $100 per pupil to $1815 in 1996-97. Since 1988 AISCA has assisted schools to attain exemption from municipal property taxes and since 1994 ensured that independent schools could obtain provincial funding for home education programs. The School Act of 1988 recognized some of the elements for which

AISCA lobbied, including recognition of parental rights and responsibilities, recognition of the right of independent schools to exist, and provision of more freedom to develop curriculum and teacher training standards which protect the integrity of independent schools. In this last respect, the freedom to develop teacher training standards which protect the integrity of independent schools has been pivotal in the development of teacher education programs, such as the BEd programs of The King's University College and Concordia University College, which adopt a Christian world view of education.

Their executive director, Gary Duthler (1996), provided the perspective of his association in a letter to the editor, published by the *ATA News* . Duthler argued that the ATA "never addresses the issue of quality versus monopoly" (p. 5). By quality, Duthler referred to the independent evaluations of the King's BEd program which pronounced the King's program as competent. The monopoly issue refers to the monopoly of teacher preparation by the faculties of education at the three public universities in Alberta and the mandatory requirement that all teachers in the province become members of the ATA. Duthler also addressed the issue of loss of teacher status and deprofessionalization when he asked "Doesn't the ATA have a voice on the Teacher Salary Qualifications Board? Does the ATA intend to introduce such a discriminatory proposal?" (p. 5). Duthler's position challenged the ATA contention that teacher salary could fall as a result of having college prepared teachers in professional teaching ranks. Bruinsma concurred: "all teachers, whether from public universities or the private university colleges, would continue to be paid the same salary as negotiated by the collective bargaining process" and teacher qualification evaluation would continue to be based on years of teacher training as recognized by the ATA's Teacher Qualification Service (TQS).

The constituency behind the college movement includes a broad spectrum of the Christian Right. Concordia University College is operated by the Lutheran Church of Canada, but about one third of its student body are Catholic. Augustana University College is also operated by the Lutheran Church. The King's University College, although not operated by a specific religious denomination, draws much of its support from members of the Christian Dutch Reformed Church. Canadian Union College is operated by the Seventh Day Adventist Church.

Pressure in the private college system for degree granting authority in part results from falling postsecondary enrollments in the decade of the 1990s. While postsecondary costs continued to rise, tuition-driven private colleges were at a disadvantage when recruiting students because publicly supported institutions could afford to offer lower tuition. The private colleges faced dual problems of maintaining a critical mass of students to enable a variety of program offerings and the lack of status that is associated with having degree granting authority.

With respect to teacher education, respondents Worth, Bruinsma, and Potvin all reported that the private colleges perceived a market for a Christian oriented BEd program when faculties of education in Alberta public universities were placing quotas on registration because of a teacher surplus. The combination of university quotas, the growing market niche for Christian teachers, the potential for increased student places at no cost to the public, and an ideological shift toward choice by the government all contributed to an opening for private college teacher preparation programs. This opportunity was exploited by successful BEd applications to the PCAB by King's and Concordia. In an interview, Bernie Potvin of Concordia University College explained the foundation of the policy change whereby private colleges were empowered to grant degrees as follows:

> The policy change in Alberta to allow Concordia to grant a BEd is a reflection of the political move in the province of Alberta, one of diversity, initiative, and cost effectiveness. It was clear that we were growing up and offering more and more majors, in the areas of Arts and Science and now Education. Our BEd program costs the government nothing. Our students were asking for it. Our constituency was asking for it. The impetus came from within. But I think wind in the sails behind the whole thing is the political movement in Alberta.

Inception of The King's College BEd program. The King's College had already been successful in achieving BA and BSc programs when it began the process of application for the BEd program. Its successful application with the PCAB followed a concerted lobbying effort by the private colleges and their main adversary in the policy deliberations, the ATA. A former Deputy Minister of Advanced Education stated:

> John Gogo was the Minister of Advanced Education and Career Development at the time the King's BEd application was being forwarded. If you look at the records, you will see that he has more Christian school supporters in his constituency than any other MLA in the province. He was lobbied very extensively by a number of his constituents to support The King's College position.

This indicates that there was a considerable amount of lobbying behind the scenes before the PCAB was directed to consider BEd degree granting by the private colleges.

Initially, the PCAB handbook provided a mechanism for application by private colleges for authorization to grant only BA and BSc degrees. The King's College had several graduating classes; respondent Bruinsma reported that College administrators thought that they were meeting a real need for their constituencies and that the college was doing a good job of the programs they offered. When in 1993 the handbook was amended to include provision for BEd application, The King's College began immediately to pursue this possibility. Robert Bruinsma, head of The King's University College teacher education transfer program, stated:

> We had always been interested in providing a more substantial program in teacher education but found it very difficult to get the university to consider more courses for transfer credit. The idea of developing a teacher education program that would reflect the mission and vision of the college just wasn't a possibility until that handbook was published.

Although the mechanism for BEd application was in place, Worth reported that the government was resistant to the King's request for funding on a per-student basis, partially because civil servants at Advanced Education felt that there was little market for more teachers. Bruinsma reported that the Minister indicated to The King's University College president that if the college could demonstrate competence, the government had provided the accreditation mechanism (PCAB), but they were not to expect "a blessed nickel to run the program."

The King's BEd proposal was submitted to the PCAB and various stakeholders. The Deans of Education of the public universities were opposed. The ATA also opposed the proposal. However, the Alberta School Board Association (ASBA) expressed interest in the King's proposal because it provided a Christian orientation and an innovative practicum. AISCA also supported the proposal and indicated the desire of member schools to employ teachers who could reflect the Christian values which they believed could be engendered in the proposed program. King's administrators considered feedback received from the stakeholders and made formal application to the PCAB for approval to offer a BEd.

The PCAB then allowed the King's application to proceed to the next phase. An external evaluation team was assigned by the PCAB to assess the King's proposed program, facilities, and staff to ascertain the ability of the College to deliver a competent program. The external evaluation team was chaired by Myer Horowitz, former President of the University of Alberta and former Dean of the Faculty of Education. He was joined by Helen Ilott, Professor in the Faculty of Education, U of A; and Myrna Greene Associate Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge. The external evaluation team visited the college, examined the facilities and library, interviewed the staff and administration, and deliberated the merits of the program application. Their final report (Horowitz, Greene & Ilott, 1994) identified the merits of the program and was generally positive. After discussion of the external evaluation team's report, the PCAB unanimously recommended to the Minister of Advanced Education that The King's College be approved for granting a BEd degree. The Minister took that recommendation to cabinet and an Order-in Council provided the legal authority to offer the new BEd program beginning in September 1995.

The Minister of Education, Halvar Jonson, also had stipulations before graduates of the new program could be certified by the Alberta Department of Education. Principally, he required the creation of an advisory committee representative of stakeholders, which could provide input to the college about the development of the program. The King's College complied with this requirement by striking the Teacher Education Advisory Committee (TEAC) which included representatives of Edmonton Catholic Schools, Edmonton Public Schools, and AISCA. Representation was also invited from the ATA, and at first they indicated that they would participate. However, the ATA never forwarded a nomination to the TEAC and was therefore never represented.

In the spring of 1995 staff at The King's College became aware of the ATA response to the King's BEd program. Motions tabled for debate at the Annual Representative Assembly (ARA), the ATA's policy-setting body, urged teacher members to refuse practicum students from private college programs on the grounds that private colleges would seek to "legitimate" their programs by getting practicum students to practice teach in the public schools of Alberta. Additionally, the *ATA News* (1995), implied that private college teacher education programs would be inferior to university programs. The article stated that teachers would be "trained" as opposed to being "educated" and that teachers would therefore be accorded "lower status." Because The King's College housed the only such program in the province, they immediately began to mobilize lobby pressure. For example, see published letters to the editor from Henk Van Andel (1995, p. A17), Gary Duthler (1996, p. 5) and Jenkinson (1995, p. 54). King's staff and students believed that their program was already "legitimized" by the successful accreditation process and the blue ribbon stamp of approval provided by the Horowitz et al. external evaluation report. Dr. Bruinsma stated:

> We did some extensive lobbying before that May ARA. We tried to meet with the ATA Executive Secretary, Dr. Julius Buski, President Bauni McKay and other table officers to see if we could talk about this issue and resolve it in some way. We were told that they were too busy, and that this wasn't possible.

While Bruinsma and other King's administrative staff were unable to dialogue with ATA staff before the ARA, Gary Duthler, AISCA executive director, invited Dr. Bruinsma (King's) and Dr. Potvin (Concordia) to represent AISCA at an ATA sponsored *Directions* conference on teacher education held in Edmonton, May 4-7, 1995. At that conference Bruinsma (1995) presented The King's College's position and debated with delegates about the ATA objections to their BEd program. A Calgary Catholic teacher reported to Bruinsma that at the ATA ARA she would vote in support of refusing King's practicum students. Her rationale was that students who received their teacher education in small Christian colleges were bound to get a very limited perspective which really would not prepare them to function very well in the real world of the pluralistic classroom. Bruinsma's reply to this teacher, repeated to the researcher in an interview, captured the essence of Bruinsma's explanation of the King's program inclusion of faith and the belief of proponents of the institution that its students were able to be open and tolerant:

> As a Catholic teacher in a Catholic school, then you must see yourself as a person of faith who believes that your Catholic faith has something to do with the education of children. Are you afraid that students educated in your particular Catholic school are going to have a very narrow, limited, Catholic perspective on all the diversity that exists?

Bruinsma indicated in the interview that The King's University College BEd program advocates felt that arguments presented to ATA members to defeat ARA resolutions were logical and reasonable. Debate at ARA was lively (ATA, 1995, pp. 44-48), but resolutions to deny King's practicum students access to classrooms passed by a three to one margin.

The proposed ATA boycott of King's practicum students confronted the college with a difficult situation. Although King's had achieved an approved degree program, their ability to deliver the program was threatened by the ATA boycott. Program students needed placements in schools for four weeks in the first year and 12 weeks in the second. School boards remained open to providing these placements, but principals in Edmonton Public and Edmonton Catholic schools who had previously indicated interest in providing placements for practicum students were now leery. Bruinsma argued that Section 46(4) of the *School Act* specifies that a school board shall provide access to classrooms for student teaching where the teacher education program is authorized by the Minister. Although superintendents and principals may have been sympathetic, the ATA boycott of King's practicum students has made placements difficult. Bruinsma indicated:

> It's been a frustrating experience. Principals have to depend on individual staff members in their schools to volunteer. No staff member is required to have a practicum student. Principals have said 'I don't need this kind of trouble in my staff. We don't need staff morale problems, or people arguing whether they should or shouldn't accept a King's practicum student. And it's also a problem for recruitment of students because students who saw the articles in the *ATA News* in May are wondering, if the ATA doesn't think this is a good college, maybe I shouldn't go. They don't understand that the ATA doesn't certify teachers; the Ministry of Education does. A number of students withdrew their application last year because of the nervousness of the situation. It has negative implications for our recruitment.

Practicum placements, although a challenge for the King's program, were found. Enrollment was hampered, but the program persisted. At the time of writing, strained relations between King's College and the ATA persisted.

The King's College has attempted to respond logically to many of the objections of the ATA toward its BEd program. In response to suggestions by the ATA that teacher education should not take place in a community college, The King's College followed the lead of Augustana University College and achieved, by legislative authority, a name change to The King's University College (TKUC). Bruinsma stated that "the reason we went through a name change was simply to signal to our public that we are not a community college but an academic undergraduate college that provides education only at a university level." In an interview, Bruinsma refuted several arguments made by ATA members opposing the King's BEd program. He questioned why practicum students from Grande Prairie Regional College, which offers few university courses and is truly a community college, has not suffered an ATA practicum boycott. Bruinsma also refuted the ATA argument that teachers ought to be educated "shoulder to shoulder" with other professionals such as doctors, dentists and lawyers. He argued that the University of Lethbridge, which has a reputed excellent teacher education program, has no Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry, or Law. Finally, with respect to the ATA suggestion that the King's program was inferior to university teacher education programs, King's advocates point to the positive report of the external evaluation team and the unanimous recommendation of support from the PCAB.

Horowitz suspected that the ATA argument which suggested that The King's BEd program was inferior to university standards was based upon more than the merits of the program. Horowitz explained:

> My quarrel with the ATA, especially in their early reactions, is that they really were questioning the propriety of The King's College, and I suspect any other denominational college, in getting involved in a teacher education program, from a quality perspective. When they were challenged on the quality issue, then the ATA tried to make it appear as if they really weren't questioning the quality. I can't help but feel that some of the negative reactions had far more to do with bias against denominational colleges than with issues of quality. I sometimes wonder whether the feelings would have been the same had it been a public college rather than a private denominational college.

It is difficult to ascertain whether ATA opposition to the King's BEd program was based upon any reasons apart from their public position. The ATA appeared, however, more stringent in its criticism of the King's program than any other new teacher preparation program outside of the public university faculties of education. Perhaps the vociferousness of the criticism can at least in part be attributed to the fact that this was the first approved private college teacher preparation degree program.

In summary, the Bruinsma interview exposed the fundamental belief of proponents of The King's University College BEd program of their right to educate teachers within the context of their faith perspective:

> We think we have a contribution to make to teacher education in the province. We have a particular Christian world view that lies at the base of our teacher education program. But every teacher education program has some kind of perspective, an underlying value system that undergirds its raison d'être. It isn't illegal to be Christian, and we believe that this faith perspective has something positive it can bring to bear in teacher education. To the extent that there are members of the public out there who wish to study in an institution like King's and who wish to learn that perspective, I think we have a right to exist under the sun.

With respect to the role played by the ATA during the inception of the King's BEd program and ATA efforts to deny practicum placements for King's BEd students, Bruinsma added:

> An association that represents professional teachers, who are trained to deal with diversity and promote tolerance, ought to show more tolerance and at least a willingness to hear out another stakeholder which has in an open and above-board way sought to find its place in the sun within the educational milieu of Alberta.

Although the ATA presented considerable impediments to The King's University College application for BEd degree conferring status and practicum placements, the ATA has been thus far unsuccessful in halting the program. The achievement of the King's BEd program can be substantially attributed to the considerable political lobby of the private college network and the Christian New Right. Additionally, some credit for the extension of degree conferring by King's must be attributed to their administrative support from the PCAB, to which our discussion now turns.

The Private Colleges Accreditation Board

In Alberta, the adoption of the Worth Report (1971) by the new Progressive Conservative government signified the government's willingness to coordinate and direct postsecondary education in Alberta. After the failure of the private colleges to achieve degree conferring in affiliation with Alberta public universities as per amendments to the Universities Act (1980), the provincial government looked for another solution. The creation of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board of Alberta (PCAB) in 1984 was a significant indication that members of the provincial government seriously considered permitting the private college sector to increase its program offerings and evolve into degree granting institutions. Stephen Murgatroyd, a member of the PCAB representing Athabasca University for six years explained his understanding of the origin of the PCAB as follows:

> There's a long tradition in our history of religious institutions in our province that had degree granting status from other jurisdictions. So the issue was, to what extent does the province wish to regulate and control those? I think the major impetus for the PCAB was pressure from particular private institutions in Alberta, essentially religious in orientation, that wished to offer degrees as opposed to degrees granted by sponsoring American institutions. Presidents of private institutions and their supporters put pressure on the politicians at the level of MLAs, who in turn put pressure on cabinet ministers. So the impetus comes from the bottom up in the sense that there is a market pressure to create more degree granting institutions in Alberta.

Montgomerie concurred with the idea that public pressure on the government played an important role in the policy to extend degree conferring authority in Alberta. She stated in interview:

> The change in policy comes from public pressure. It's long and historical. It started when Edmonton got the University of Alberta; Calgary was very agitated in that they needed a university of their own. That attitude extends throughout the province. People in Alberta want services close to their own community because the concern is that children leave and never return to their home community. That's where the pressure comes from. Calgary started the public pressure, then Lethbridge, Red Deer, and Grande Prairie followed. Then the Bible colleges, who served a particular constituency, wanted to keep that particular flavor of education.

Paterson, a former chair of the PCAB, felt that pressure to extend degree conferring also came from the Board itself. In personal interview he explained:

> Remember, the Board is made up of college members as well as university members. So it stands to reason that if Concordia or King's or any of the

> colleges wish to mount a campaign to have degree granting status in education or anything else, it's easy for them to do so at the Board level.

As the college system matured in the 1970s and 1980s pressure came from the private colleges that had offered university transfer programs in affiliation with the public universities. Private colleges administrators were aware that their transfer students were successful when they moved into the public universities and therefore felt that they were ready to offer full degree programs. The government's primary position was that it was committed to maintaining quality standards and that the newly founded PCAB could require evaluations of the private institutions' ability to initiate and maintain quality degree programs.

The rationale of the government was that a PCAB could satisfy the government's need to maintain quality in postsecondary education and also satisfy public demand for access to programs at a time when there was an apparent shortage of places for a growing postsecondary student population. Murgatroyd, PCAB representative for Athabasca University stated:

> The logic of the board is simple. There needs to be quality control to establish whether a degree program offered by a private institution is credit worthy. The irony, of course, is there is now more quality control for the private sector than there is for the public institutions except that which they wish to impose internally.

A former chair of the PCAB stated, however, that in addition to issues of access and quality, another consideration of the government was

> ideological in the sense that some elected officials in government were strong proponents of market choice and of providing a choice in postsecondary education, or in any sector, for the citizens of the province. That kind of thinking led to an extension of private education generally in the province, with increased support for private schools and then the granting of government funding for private colleges in the postsecondary sector and eventually degree granting authority.

Of course, the government's emerging neoliberal predisposition to accept market choice and privatization complemented the aspirations of the private colleges that needed degree granting for credibility.

A final contextual factor which strengthened the PCAB was the government's wish to exercise more control over postsecondary education. A former Deputy Minister of Advanced Education explained:

> There was the business of power and control. The government, both bureaucrats and elected officials, wanted to exercise more control over developments in the postsecondary sector. The universities were not very amenable to government control or even suggestion, and so by disbursing degree granting authority, it

> was a way of undercutting the position and authority of the power of the conventional universities.

On this same issue of government control in postsecondary education, Montgomerie, a member of the PCAB from 1991 to 1997, concurred:

> I think it's fairly obvious this government has never been trusting of post-secondary education in this province. They think the university is really sloppy and so wanted to make sure of its standards. My honest belief is that the government would like to have a PCAB for everybody in postsecondary education. They would love to put the university under some kind of advisory controlling board.

The creation of the PCAB can be understood in the context of its role in satisfying several needs of the government including the government's desire to increase control of postsecondary education, concerns about maintaining quality control and increasing student access, and, its desire to implement New Right ideology. In many jurisdictions, such as Alberta, the need for financial accountability precipitated government interest such that "higher education is now considered by government to be an instrument of policy" (Southern, 1987, p. 45). Similarly, the PCAB became an instrument of government influence in a changing postsecondary education policy environment. Mintzberg and Jorgensen (1987) suggested that regulatory commissions, such as the PCAB, should make policy because they are "in the best position to understand the viability of the intended strategy and possible alternatives" (p. 228); and further, that civil servants should make policy because they are "close to the receivers of the services" (p. 229).

As a creation of the Alberta government, mandated to evaluate proposals of private colleges for degree granting authority, the PCAB is directly responsible to the government. The staff of the PCAB are employed by Advanced Education and Economic Development whereas its Board members are appointed by the Minister. Some respondents in this study wished that the PCAB were a neutral and apolitical agency of the government, but the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), the model used for presentation and analysis of the current study data, assumes that most administrative agencies have missions that usually make them part of a specific coalition (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 214). Pressman and Wildavsky (1979) provide the construct of "capture theory" (p. 182) which holds that regulatory commissions inevitably become captured by the interests they are supposed to regulate because these are the forces that care most about what the regulatory commission does. In Alberta it appears that once the PCAB was established and began reviewing applications for degree conferring authority, the PCAB identified with and was "captured" by the interests of the private college sector for whom it was created to serve.

In Alberta the PCAB has provided the vehicle for government policy to extend degree conferring, first in Arts and Science degrees and, more recently, in the cases of The King's University College and Concordia University College professional degrees in Education. The direction of the PCAB has been clear. In a memorandum from David Russell, Deputy Premier and Minister of Advanced Education to Nancy Betkowski, Minister of Education, dated March 3, 1988, Russell stated: "Advanced Education does not have any objections to the principle of private colleges seeking approval to grant professional degrees." It is not surprising, therefore, that Advanced Education and Career Development, its predecessor, the Department of Advanced Education, and the PCAB as an arm of these departments were part of the advocacy coalition that supported the aspirations of the private colleges to achieve professional degree conferring status. Indeed, with respect to the predisposition of the PCAB to support the extension of degree conferring, Murgatroyd stated explicitly:

> The intention of the PCAB is to end the monopoly of the four major universities on degree granting by giving degree granting to the public colleges, increase private college degree granting and to open up degree granting to private sector organizations.

During the first decade of deliberations by the PCAB, there was little debate when the Board recommended to the Minister to authorize private college offering of BA and BSc degrees. However, when discussions began about potential BEd programs, the ATA quickly entered the debate. Worth, a former chair of the PCAB, stated:

> In developing our guidelines for accreditation, we sent a copy of our initial proposal to the ATA and asked them what their reactions were. I met with their Executive Director, Julius Buski, and some of the table officers to discuss their initial reactions. Then we revised our policies and procedures to try to take account of some of their early reactions as well as the reactions of the Faculties of Education in the province. We went through that same process again. I met with Julius and others. We were attempting, in a sense, to co-opt them through consultation.

At first there was cooperation from the ATA. During The King's College BEd application, the ATA nominated Faculty of Education professors to serve on the external evaluation team which would evaluate The King's College proposal and ascertain whether the College had the resources and facilities to provide the program. When the external evaluation team was appointed, all of the members were acceptable to the ATA. The individuals may have been acceptable to the ATA, but the evaluation team's recommendations were not. The evaluation team, identified above and chaired by

Horowitz, judged The King's University College BEd proposal, facilities, and staff as competent and found that their program incorporated "many strengths" (Horowitz et al. 1994, p. 7). The PCAB then unanimously recommended that the Minister approve the application and, after a delay, The King's University College was granted authority to confer a BEd degree. Thereafter, the ATA nominated only members of its own staff for PCAB external evaluation teams but these were not appointed because, in the view of a PCAB respondent, the nominations "represented a particular vested interest."

When the second application for BEd degree conferring by Concordia College was before the PCAB, the ATA was theoretically in a much stronger negotiating position than it had been at the time of the King's BEd program application. The previous Minister, John Gogo, had left the portfolio; and the new Minister, Halvar Jonson, was a past-president of the ATA. In that capacity he had a close working relationship with the ATA executive, and, as a former teacher, Mr. Jonson understood issues concerning teachers' professional status. Worth described Jonson's dilemma:

> He was caught. On the one hand, he understood the arguments for his profession. He also felt the pressure from the Executive Council and his political colleagues who thought that the whole idea of decentralization and privatization, if you like, was a good thing. He wants to stay in cabinet, wants to keep their support, so he has to juggle these two things. I think what happened was that eventually the forces within the government got stronger than the ATA.

In summary, since the adoption of the Worth Report (1971), the Alberta government has demonstrated an increased willingness to coordinate and direct postsecondary education in Alberta. The creation of the PCAB in 1984 satisfied both the government's need to monitor new program quality and the public's demand for increased access. The ability of private colleges to achieve degree conferring status via the PCAB also satisfied the government's emerging ideological predisposition to provide for greater choice and diversity of postsecondary education. Finally, it is evident from ministerial correspondence (Russell, 1988) that the Department of Advanced Education, if not in favor, at least had no objection to professional degree conferring by the private colleges. The PCAB, as an arm of the civil service, was also identified by respondents as receptive to the aspirations of the private colleges to achieve degree conferring status, and therefore, like the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development, members of the advocacy coalition that supported the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta.

Summary

The advocacy coalition in favor of decentralization of degree conferring generally consists of advocates of private postsecondary institutions, advocates of the public colleges, government MLAs, civil servants in Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development, and members of the PCAB. The interests of advocates of private postsecondary institutions to achieve degree conferring authority coincided with emerging government ideology to increase choice and competition in public policy spheres.

The private colleges, in concert with AISCA, initiated what the researcher perceives to be a formidable lobby effort directed at MLAs and the public. They appealed to proponents of choice, competition, and regional access. Government MLAs felt the lobby pressure and were sympathetic to calls for improved regional access to postsecondary education. Prevailing government ideology which embraced choice and deficit reduction also benefited private institutions which offered choice at less cost to the public purse. The Department of Advanced Education and Career Development was also susceptible to supporting new postsecondary student places during a period of fiscal restraint. The PCAB was viewed as a "captured" member of this advocacy coalition by disappointed advocacy coalition respondents who opposed extension of degree conferring. Yet administrative agencies are often active members of specific coalitions (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 214).

The ATA, education faculties of the public universities, and many Alberta Education staff opposed the extension of BEd degree conferring. These organizations have much in common. Because they are staffed predominantly by teachers (or former teachers), members in these organizations see educational issues similarly, are protective of teacher status and are concerned in general about the professional aspirations of teachers. The faculties of education in the public universities need cooperation from the ATA to facilitate making practicum field placements. Education professors work closely with the ATA. Similarly, the Faculties of Education must satisfy the Teacher Certification Branch of the Alberta Department of Education that their BEd graduates are prepared to be certified as teachers. The future of the Teacher Certification Branch may be tentative in the current government climate which favors privatization of public services. The ATA has long coveted the role of certifying new professionals. Because British Columbia and Ontario now have a College of Teachers which controls certification, this potential trend provides further impetus for Alberta to give teacher certification to the profession. The potential for such a move places the Teacher

Certification Branch in a precarious position and provides reason for individuals employed at the branch to cooperate with the ATA. For these reasons, the relationships among the ATA, Teacher Certification Branch, and the faculties of education appear to be symbiotic.

The most vociferous opposition to the extension of BEd programs came from the ATA, whose membership felt its status was at stake with decentralization of teacher education from a university to a college setting. The ATA was accorded every right, as a significant education stakeholder, to influence the policy process. They presented to the PCAB their opposition to the extension of BEd programs. In the end the PCAB did not agree with the arguments of the ATA. Dr. Montgomerie explained:

> The PCAB really felt the ATA was turf protecting and that their arguments were not that solid. Our job really was not to get into the political arena. We were to look at the quality of the program. Any decision about whether or not to approve was in the political realm. It would be up to the Minister.

Murgatroyd used stronger language. He suggested that the ATA argument was "pathetic" and unconvincing even to the ATA supporters on the PCAB.

The private colleges, as providers of new degree programs, and their student clientele appear to be the principal benefactors of the policy shift to extend degree conferring. The ATA, as the primary opponent of the policy shift, and to a lessor extent the public universities have been defeated thus far in the policy struggle. Now that the ATA has been unable to halt private teacher education programs or successfully boycott their practicum programs, the long term alliance of the ATA and faculties of education may be tested by BEd outreach programs which are inconsistent with the long-standing ATA desire to see teachers prepared "shoulder to shoulder" with other professionals in a university setting. The outreach BEd programs of the U of Lethbridge at Medicine Hat College and the U of Alberta in Grande Prairie College and Red Deer College indicate their respective university faculty of education efforts to compete for market share of teacher preparation.

Finally, although the policy debate in this study about decentralization of teacher preparation was conducted at a local provincial level, the debate has deep ideological roots and is related to international pressures for globalization of economy and international policy convergence. Underpinning the policy debate about the extension of degree conferring are the ideological beliefs about market forces versus the role of large government in society. The private colleges are advocates of decentralization and consumer choice. The ATA is an association of professionals with compulsory membership which champions the values of secular humanism in a universal public education system, values that private Christian colleges reject. International pressure from the New Right, which supports privatization of postsecondary education, is exemplified by the position of the World Bank that teacher unions are a major obstacle for implementation of reform in educational finance and educational management (Brown, 1994, p. 19). This fundamental antagonism between the advocates of New Right ideology and the values of the leadership of the ATA is at the root of the antagonism between the two opposing advocacy coalitions in the debate about the extension of degree conferring authority.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY PROBLEM UTILIZING THE ADVOCACY COALITION FRAMEWORK (ACF) FOR POLICY CHANGE

Introduction

The current case study on the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta presented the researcher with apparently contradictory interview data from respondents competing for influence in the government. The use of the ACF model (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993) provides the researcher with an analytical tool for organizing and presenting the information that was collected. To reiterate, the ACF model was used in this study to assist in focusing the collection and analysis of information related to the study problem. Confirming or disconfirming the validity of the model was not an objective but did become an outcome of the study.

This chapter achieves two major purposes. First, it identifies the basic premises of the ACF model (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, 1997) and demonstrates how these premises assist in understanding the interview data in the current case study on the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in the private colleges of Alberta. The basic premises of the ACF model of policy change discussed below include the following: (a) technical information plays an important role in policy change, (b) policy study requires a period of a least a decade, (c) a focus on the subsystem as the unit of analysis has value, and (d) there is a need to examine stakeholder belief systems. The second purpose of the chapter is to demonstrate the utility of the hypotheses presented in the ACF (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, 1997) to explain aspects of the current study. The use of these hypotheses to analyze information collected in the course of this study confirms the utility of the ACF as an analytical tool for this particular policy problem.

Basic Premises of the Advocacy Coalition Framework

The first basic premise of the ACF is that technical information plays an important role in policy change. In the current case study on extension of BEd degree conferring at The King's University College, the role of technical information was important. The PCAB heard submissions from various stakeholders and commissioned an independent team of experts to evaluate the applying institution's capability to offer a competent BEd program. The quality of the proposed program was compared to the programs of the existing public universities with respect to instructors, facilities, library resources, and courses of study. With data on how the proposed program satisfied these technical information criterion, the PCAB was able to justify its confidence in the educational and institutional standards of the proposed program. The evaluation data enabled the PCAB to step back from the values-based ideological arguments of the stakeholders and, instead, to evaluate the proposal on its technical merits.

The second basic premise of the ACF model is the requirement that the time perspective be at least a decade. Mawhinney (1994b, p. 8) concluded that policy study requires longitudinal perspective so that an entire policy cycle of agenda setting, formulation, adoption, implementation, and evaluation can be assessed. Further, frequently policy considered in the short term as having failed in implementation has after a longer time period been successfully implemented (Sabatier, 1986). The current study reflects this requirement for longitudinal perspective by providing an historical review of several decades of postsecondary and political context. Seen in historical perspective, the incremental achievement of degree conferring policy by private colleges appears as a logical development in a decentralizing Alberta postsecondary landscape.

The third basic premise of the ACF model identifies the policy subsystem as the most useful unit of analysis in a policy study. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) define the policy subsystem broadly to include actors from a variety of public and private organizations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue. This definition is not limited to a particular government or government program, and might include policy experts, lobbyists for stakeholder organizations, and concerned citizens. Literature on "bottom up" policy implementation similarly suggests the existence of a multitude of local actors who seek to pursue policy goals (Sabatier, 1986). In the current study there were many actors and several organizations in the policy subsystem outside of government, including civil servants, staff of the ATA, the professoriate of the public university faculties of education, senior administrators and faculty of private postsecondary institutions, and the various respective advocates for these interest groups. Although the policy subsystem is broad, the policy problem is best understood by investigation of the interaction of a broad spectrum of stakeholders in the policy subsystem.

The fourth basic premise of the ACF model is that policy subsystems usually involve actors from different levels of government. In the current case study the provincial government funds and approves postsecondary programs, but both the Department of Alberta Education and the Department of Alberta Advanced Education and

Career Development have important stakes in BEd degree conferring. Regional development advocates also lobby municipal and provincial government representatives for support of local postsecondary access. Mawhinney (1994b) concluded that policy changes at one level might provide opportunities for policy actors to promote policy changes at another level. Certainly, other provincial governments' teacher certification requirements and funding of competitive postsecondary programs affect the Alberta policy subsystem. Additionally, the Canadian government's negotiation of international treaties which liberalize trade and mobilize labor, including, potentially, the internationalization of teacher certification standards, also affect the local policy subsystem.

The fifth and final basic premise of the ACF model is that public policy incorporates the implicit belief systems of policy stakeholders and that advocacy coalition members share beliefs and coordinated action towards accomplishment of their commonly shared policy preferences. Identification of the values and policy goals of stakeholder actors contributes to an understanding both of the motivation of advocacy coalitions and of the importance of various subsystem actors in the policy debate. Therefore, this study charts the values clash of stakeholder actors from the competing advocacy coalitions. Finally, identification of evolving responses to policy change by advocacy coalition stakeholders indicates new understanding of the policy problem or policy-oriented learning by stakeholders.

Each of the identified basic premises of the ACF model is relevant to an understanding of the current case study. The role of technical information in PCAB deliberations was significant, an historical perspective on the policy development process assists in understanding the policy origins and direction, the policy subsystem is sufficiently wide to include many stakeholders and organizational actors from several levels of government, and understanding of the policy debate is enhanced by examination of the belief systems of the advocacy coalition actors.

Hypotheses of the Advocacy Coalition Framework

The hypotheses presented in the following discussion were developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) and revised by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1997). Presentation of the hypotheses is organized as follows: subsystem actors, advocacy coalitions and policy brokers (Hypotheses 1, 10, and 11), policy-oriented belief systems (Hypotheses 2 and 3), coalition learning and external perturbation (Hypotheses 4 and 5), and policy-oriented learning (Hypotheses 6, 12, 7, 8, and 9).

Subsystem actors: Advocacy coalitions and policy brokers

The policy subsystem in the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to the private university colleges included the following actors: the Standing Policy Committee on Education and Training of the government caucus, civil servants in the departments of Alberta Education and Advanced Education and Career Development, the PCAB, the ATA, advocates of regional development, advocates of decentralized access and privatization of postsecondary education, professors and administrators of the faculties of education of the public universities of Alberta, and many of the administrative and teaching personnel in the private and public colleges of Alberta. As explained in Chapter 5 of this study, the subsystem included two competing advocacy coalitions: one in favor and the other opposing the extension of degree conferring authority to private colleges.

The advocacy coalition in favor of extending degree conferring to private colleges, including provision for the BEd degree, consists of staff and supporters of the private colleges, some staff from the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development, a majority of the members of the PCAB, and ultimately, a majority Standing Policy Committee on Education and Training of government caucus which made extension of degree conferring government policy. The Alberta government caucus, a coalition consisting of urban neoliberal elements and rural neoconservatives, reflects the government bias favoring New Right policy objectives and criticism of the welfare state (supra, pp. 49-55). This coalition is clearly dominant in the current policy debate.

Opponents of extension of BEd degree conferring authority to the private colleges include the ATA, who believe that their interests are threatened by a proliferation of accrediting institutions; the Faculties of Education of the public universities of Alberta, whose market share of prospective teachers could be threatened by competing institutions; and professional staff at the Department of Alberta Education, who shared a common professional formation in the Faculties of Education with members of the ATA. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1997, p. 23) state that coalitions of this type share a domain of expertise. In this case, the domain of expertise relates to the operation of the public education system and the preparation of teachers for that system.

Whereas the advocacy coalition in favor of extension of BEd degree conferring authority is relatively new and has been evolving for perhaps two decades, the advocacy coalition which opposes the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to the private colleges has been operative for perhaps five decades. For example, respondents opposing the policy change reiterated the decades old rationale held by the ATA and professoriate of the U of A Faculty of Education that the teaching profession needed to be prepared in a research university "shoulder to shoulder" with other professionals. Private college personnel scorned this rationale. Arguments made by respondents highlight significant differences in belief systems of the opposing advocacy coalitions. In these two key respects, including the significant difference in the belief systems of the two advocacy coalitions and the stability of the composition of the advocacy coalitions, the current case study on extension of BEd degree conferring in Alberta confirms hypothesis one of the ACF.

> ***Hypothesis 1:*** On major controversies within an established policy subsystem when core beliefs are in dispute, the lineup of allies and opponents tends to be rather stable over periods of a decade or so (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1997, p. 16).

Advocacy coalitions adopt strategies for altering government behavior and realizing policy preferences. The conflicting strategies and policy responses of the opposing coalitions in the policy arena are meditated by policy brokers in the subsystem. Policy brokers in the ACF model have as their goal "keeping the level of political conflict within acceptable limits and reaching some 'reasonable' solution (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 27). The policy brokers in the Alberta policy subsystem included Reno Bosetti, Walter Worth and Myer Horowitz. They actively sought a rational compromise that could reduce conflict in the process of extension of BEd degree conferring policy in Alberta. Other figures in the Standing Policy Committee on Education and Training presumably also played active roles in the government caucus as policy brokers, though this story was not shared by respondents and was considered by the researcher to be outside the scope of the study. While activities in the "black box" of the political system (Dye, 1992, p. 328), especially policy formulation in government caucus and policy implementation by civil servants, could have proved to be useful for understanding the role of government policy brokers, difficulty in obtaining this politically sensitive information presented a limitation for data collection in the current study.

Reno Bosetti, Deputy Minister of Education, was a central figure and policy broker in the policy debate who opposed the extension of BEd degree conferring to private colleges. In 1987 it appears that Bosetti attempted to delay the PCAB deliberations on potential BEd proposals by referring the matter to COATS for its opinion (supra, pp. 104-105). Because Bosetti would have been aware that teachers dominated COATS, he likely expected that this body would oppose BEd degree conferring outside a university environment. By 1994 Bosetti continued to be personally opposed to BEd conferring in the private colleges (supra, p. 107). His opposition can be attributed in part to his background as a professional educator. Another explanation for Bosetti's opposition to the extension of BEd degree conferring was that he needed support from the ATA. During this period Deputy Minister Bosetti and his staff implemented fiscal equity, a new funding formula for public education and directed an amalgamation of school boards. In each of these endeavors, Bosetti and his Department of Alberta Education staff encountered stiff opposition from school boards. Respondents have stated that Bosetti's opposition to private college BEd programs conveniently supported the ATA position and thereby provided the Department of Education an ally for fiscal equity and school board amalgamation policies. Bosetti played an influential role both in delaying the private BEd conferring programs and in limiting approval to only two new BEd programs. This limit was a compromise that appears to have provided little satisfaction for either advocacy coalition, but it kept the policy conflict at a manageable level.

Walter Worth, chair of the PCAB when the new BEd programs at King's University College and Concordia University College were authorized, was a central figure and policy broker who commanded respect of the public universities. By the strength of his considerable experience as a former Dean of the University of Alberta's Faculty of Education and a former Deputy Minister of Advanced Education, Worth knew many of the important players in the policy deliberations. As the Chair of the PCAB, he was able to finesse the coalition opposed to the extension of degree conferring authority by initially co-opting the ATA and maintaining dialogue with representatives of the public universities, even as he implemented the government's policy change. Publicly, Worth advised the opponents of private teacher preparation programs, including ATA members and Faculties of Education staff, to seek a compromise in their serious disagreements with private college aspirations and emerging government policy. Worth (1995) stated:

> To some, compromise is a rather unpopular notion. This is unfortunate. Compromise permits limited agreements for limited purposes and facilitates movement toward the ideal by way of the possible. Also, compromise can be modified after experience, which is more than can be said for intransigence. (p. 7).

In this public pronouncement Worth counseled compromise and directly challenged the policy community to reduce conflict, thereby indicating his important role as a policy broker.

Myer Horowitz was also a critical figure and policy broker in the policy shift to extend BEd degree conferring to the private colleges. As a former Dean of the University of Alberta's Faculty of Education and a former President of the University of Alberta, Horowitz's recognition of the quality of the King's BEd proposal provided symbolic acquiescence of public university opposition to the proposed BEd program. From his initial position of opposing professional degree conferring outside a university setting (supra, p. 99), Horowitz provided the technical expertise, via his Chairmanship of the external evaluation committee's endorsement of the competence of The King's College to offer a BEd program, that was a critical requirement for the PCAB and subsequent government approval. His philosophical reluctance to endorse BEd degree conferring in a college setting, in the end, did not inhibit his objectivity to favorably evaluate The King's College ability to deliver the proposed program. This apparent about face from opposition to support of The King's College offering the BEd program represents what Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) call "policy-oriented learning" by the public university community.

The leadership of Bosetti, Worth, and Horowitz was critical to the policy change which extends BEd degree conferring to the private colleges. Their efforts in promoting compromise and constructive debate on the merits of the proposed BEd programs stimulated policy-oriented learning in the policy subsystem. As Mawhinney (1994b) stated, "leadership requires an appreciation of the potential for value conflicts to arise from a policy goal. More important, leadership is based on the capacity to reduce such conflicts by generating normative consensus" (p. 29). Although consensus may not have been attained in this particular Alberta case study, each of the identified policy brokers understood the value conflicts present in the policy debate and provided leadership to reduce those conflicts through compromise.

In the current study the critical administrative agency for both advocacy coalitions in the current study is the PCAB. Usually the official public pronouncements of administrative agencies are moderate and reflect compromise. In the current case study of The King's College application to attain BEd degree conferring authority, the PCAB appeared objective and open to dialogue. However, the ATA respondents believed that the PCAB had a political mandate from the government to approve the King's BEd applications. Similarly, Mawhinney (1994b) found that educational change in Ontario showed strong bias of state direction, and that interest groups opposed to the change had little effect, to which she attributed "a number of factors, including institutional norms and rules converged to block policy participation by these interests"

(p. 31). In Alberta the opponents of extension of degree conferring argued that the PCAB was stacked against their interests and that they had been co-opted in a process that they could not win.

Hypothesis 10: Within a coalition, administrative agencies will usually advocate more centrist positions than interest-group allies. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1997, p. 17)

Hypothesis 10 predicts administrative agency bias. Like the Pressman and Wildavsky (1979) suggestion that regulatory commissions are inevitably "captured" by the interests they are designed to regulate, ACF advocates assume that most administrative agencies have missions that make them part of an advocacy coalition (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 214) and that mission is generally grounded in a statutory mandate (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1997, p. 17). Certainly, the PCAB works primarily with private college applications for degree conferring and accordingly should be recognized as satisfying its government mandate to approve extension of degree conferring. Although the PCAB appears more restrained than its coalition allies (supra, pp. 124-125), it is none-the-less predisposed to extending degree conferring when quality issues are properly addressed.

Hypothesis 11: Elites of purposive groups are more constrained in their expression of beliefs and policy positions than elites from material groups (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1997, p. 20).

Hypothesis 11 of the ACF model predicts the advocacy approach of different players in an advocacy coalition. Purposive groups are motivated by ideology, while material groups promote their members material self-interest (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 225). In the current case study the purposive groups are represented by neoliberal elements in the government, including the PCAB and business interests whose policy goals include decentralization, deregulation, and privatization of government services. Material groups include the professoriate and administrative personnel of the public Faculties of Education and, most importantly, the ATA, whose membership advocates for its material self-interest.

Hypothesis 11 is confirmed in the current case study. Elites of purposive groups were not visible during the policy debate though their logic and language was near the surface. The ATA leadership, however, remains conspicuous in its efforts to protect teacher's professional status, which it fears will be damaged by a proliferation of BEd degree conferring programs. The prominence of ATA action should be expected because the ATA is funded by member contributions and is therefore free to adopt a more extreme position than might be expected of a publicly funded administrative agency such as the PCAB.

Policy-oriented belief systems

An important assumption of the ACF is that subsystems are composed of policy elites rather than members of the public and that these policy elites have internally consistent belief systems. The hierarchical structure of the belief system in the ACF (see Table 6.1, p. 140) includes a deep (normative) core of ontological axioms, a near (policy) core of basic strategies for achieving deep core beliefs, and secondary aspects comprising instrumental decisions necessary for policy preference implementation (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 31).

Deep core beliefs operate across all policy domains and include relative valuation of individual freedom versus social equality. The familiar left/right continuum is a good indicator of political behavior at the deep core belief level. Policy core beliefs include the fundamental value priorities such as relative importance of individual rights versus those of the common good. Policy core beliefs also include strategies for realizing policy core beliefs such as appropriate division of authority between governments and markets and basic policy preference instruments. Acceptance of deep core and policy core beliefs is the glue that holds advocacy coalitions together. Proponents of the ACF assume that actors' perceptions are filtered by commonly held deep core and policy core beliefs. As a result, coalition members will resist information that suggests that their policy core beliefs are invalid or unattainable.

Secondary aspects of a coalition belief system include policy preferences regarding desirable regulations, budgetary allocations, and evaluation of various actors' performance. Whereas deep core beliefs are resistant to change, near policy core beliefs may be altered over time by experience which demonstrates serious anomalies in beliefs. Secondary aspects of the belief system, the target of most administrative policy change, are moderately easy to change in light of new data or changing strategic conditions.

The policy dispute in the current case study, the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private colleges, involves a secondary aspect of the two advocacy coalitions' belief systems. The policy change to extend degree conferring to private colleges is a policy preference regarding provincial regulation and budgetary allocation subject to evaluation of particular institutional performance. The two advocacy coalitions in the case study have opposing deep core and policy core beliefs which are reflected in the policy debate over the secondary aspect regarding the desirability of teacher

Table 6.1

Belief systems of the opposing advocacy coalitions

	Coalition **opposed** to extension of BEd degree conferring authority	Coalition **supporting** extension of BEd degree conferring authority
DEEP CORE Beliefs		
Nature of mankind	Humankind seeks collaboration and democratic participation.	Individuals seek freedom and the pursuit of the good life.
Priority of values	Communitarian development with equality of opportunity based on meritocracy.	Human development for economic growth and individual prosperity.
Basic criteria for distributive justice	Individual freedom may need to be constrained in the interests of the greater common good.	Freedom of individuals to make rational choices is paramount.
POLICY CORE Beliefs		
Orientation on substantive policy	Higher Education nurtures democracy and integrates society.	Higher education should nurture diversity and is a personal investment in individual development.
Definition of the problem	Proliferation of degree conferring threatens quality.	Oligopoly of degree conferring threatens freedom and competition.
Proper scope of government activity	The government should provide common opportunity and ensure quality. Government monopoly in education is preferred.	The government should promote individual choice and encourage innovation. Private competition is preferred.
Proper scope of business activity	Education is a common good that should not be open to competition from private interests.	Private interests are more efficient and responsive to clients than government provided services.
Orientation on property rights	Collective needs may require a redistributive safety net to ensure equity.	Private property represents individual freedom and provides incentive for excellence.
Desirability of participation by various segments of society	Education is in the public interest. Public stakeholders should decide policy questions.	Public input is considered, but policy should be made by PCAB and the government.

education programs in the private colleges.

In the current case study on the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta, the two opposing advocacy coalitions have fundamentally differing belief systems, which are displayed in Table 6.1. In general, the advocacy coalition opposed to the extension of degree conferring authority to the private colleges places more priority on the collective good of society and prefers an active government which ensures equality, democracy, and educational institutions which provide for the integration of society. The advocacy coalition in favor of the extension of degree conferring authority places priority on individual rights and an enhanced role for the marketplace in society to the detriment of government provided services.

Limitations of these belief system differences should be noted. The values identified are not exhaustive, nor are they mutually exclusive for all members of an advocacy coalition. There is a broad spectrum of dissenting values and opinions in both advocacy coalitions. For example, respondents of the advocacy coalition in favor of the extension of degree conferring were sometimes uncomfortable with the values of their coalition allies. Neoconservatives, who champion the choice of Christian communities to operate private colleges, were sometimes uncomfortable as allies with Neoliberals, who Christians respondents suspected may have carried marketplace values to materialistic extremes. Yet the neoconservatives and neoliberals were united in their agreement of the need for choice and competition. Another limitation of the values charted in Table 6.1 is that respondents usually did not exclusively agree with one set of values to the exclusion of the other. Values are not black and white, and respondents often appreciated aspects of the opposing coalition's values. For example, although a Christian private college professor recognized the necessity of the government, he placed a higher priority on freedom. He argued:

> We are not against government. We view government as a necessary evil and a legitimate stakeholder. God created government in a fallen world to right excesses. Still, we believe that our Canada is a community of communities and that in a pluralistic society, our Christian community has a right to express their world view freely.

While often respecting opposing coalition values, if respondents had to choose, they usually placed a priority on the values associated with their advocacy coalition. In spite of varied limitations and exceptions, the values identified in Table 6.1 are consistent with belief systems of the policy elites in the respective opposing advocacy coalitions.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 of the ACF are based on the premise that advocacy coalitions are held together by their common agreement over policy core beliefs.

Because these beliefs are relatively resistant to change, the advocacy coalitions remain stable for periods in excess of a decade.

> ***Hypothesis 2:*** Actors within an advocacy coalition will show substantial consensus on issues pertaining to the policy core, although less so on secondary issues. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 32).

In the current case study the opposition to the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in the private and public colleges has come primarily from ATA elites, with support from the public university faculties of education professoriate and administrative personnel. Although they have shown agreement on secondary aspects of their belief system, such as the need for teacher preparation to be "shoulder to shoulder" with other professions at a university, they have shown less consensus on BEd practicum issues. For example, following what appears to be an international trend, the ATA has achieved increasing influence on teacher practicum (supra, pp. 82-83). However, this increased ATA influence presents a potential conflict with the faculties of education whose leaders claim primary responsibility for teacher preparation. Also with respect to the teacher practicum, Faculty of Education (U of A) cooperation with private colleges on pragmatic sharing of limited practicum field placements and promotion of four year BEd outreach programs in regional colleges present the potential to cause tension between Faculty of Education professors and leadership of the ATA.

> ***Hypothesis 3:*** An actor (or coalition) will give up secondary aspects of a belief system before acknowledging weakness in the policy core. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 33)

One major thrust of the advocacy coalition opposing the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in The King's College was the secondary aspect belief that the proposed program did not measure up to public university BEd programs. When the PCAB found in favor of The King's College's ability to offer a competent program, the ATA staff retreated from the quality issue but did not alter their fundamental opposition to teacher preparation being offered in the private colleges. Another example of a Hypothesis 3 secondary aspect belief from which professors in the U of A Faculty of Education similarly retreated was the "shoulder to shoulder with other professionals" requirement for teacher preparation. There is no logical consistency in this "shoulder to shoulder" requirement and the U of A's Faculty of Education's provision of a full four year BEd outreach program in regional colleges where no other professional preparation programs are available. The retreat by advocacy coalition actors from two secondary aspects of their belief system without change in policy core values, that is, retreat from challenges to the quality of the program and the requirement for teacher preparation to be located at universities where other professional programs are offered, confirms Hypothesis 3.

Coalition learning and external perturbation

Policy change within a subsystem is a product of two processes (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 34). The first of these processes requires that the advocacy coalition attempt to translate policy core beliefs and secondary aspects of their belief systems into government policy. The second process leading to policy change is external perturbations or the effect of system-wide socio-economic and political changes in the policy arena. Each of these processes is evident in the current case study. The advocacy coalition supporting the extension of degree conferring in the private colleges has successfully lobbied to exploit the opportunity presented by external perturbations. That is, the cumulative effects of socio-economic change, influential outputs from other subsystems, and changes in the governing coalition all contributed to the changing context which made policy change possible.

Changes in the governing coalition are a contributing factor to decentralization of degree conferring authority. Historically, the monopoly of degree conferring policy held by the University of Alberta was slowly regionalized to four publicly supported universities. No college was permitted to confer degrees although the first two years of university transfer programs became available at many Alberta colleges in the 1970s. The professional community which constituted the advocacy coalition opposed to the extension of degree conferring by the private or public colleges (i.e., the university professoriate, civil servants, and the ATA) was already well established by the 1970s. This advocacy coalition of urban professionals remained influential in the Progressive Conservative governments of Premiers Lougheed (1971-85) and Getty (1985-92) until significant economic perturbations during the late 1980s and early 1990s motivated the Alberta government to adopt policy preferences of the New Right. These Alberta data, which suggest long term stability of the Alberta governing coalition followed by economic and political perturbations which influenced policy change, show agreement with ACF hypotheses 4 and 5.

> ***Hypothesis 4:*** The core (basic attributes) of a governmental program in a specific jurisdiction will not be significantly revised as long as the subsystem advocacy coalition that initiated the program remains in power within that jurisdiction - except when change is imposed by a hierarchical superior jurisdiction. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 217)

> ***Hypothesis 5:*** Significant perturbations external to the subsystem (e.g., changes in socio-economic conditions, public opinion, system-wide governing coalition, or policy outputs from other subsystems) are a necessary, but not sufficient, cause of change in the policy core attributes of a governmental program. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1997, p. 36)

The basic attributes of the government policy, in this case the monopoly of degree conferring by the public universities, did not change in Alberta while the coalition of urban professionals remained influential. Significant perturbations in the policy subsystem, however, including changes in socio-economic conditions and policy outputs from other subsystems, eventually affected change in the system-wide governing coalition and change in government postsecondary degree conferring policy. While significant perturbations provided the opportunity for change, the (previously) minority coalition within the subsystem still needed to advance its policy preferences and skillfully exploit the opportunity (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1997, p. 36).

Change in socio-economic conditions in Alberta was evident in the rise of New Right ideology and the advent of neoliberal economic policies of deficit reduction and debt retirement. Concomitant falling oil prices in the late 1980s and early 1990s threatened government revenues and economic dislocation. Public opinion on the growing government debt shifted from acceptance to alarm. Economic policy changes coincided with a change in the system-wide governing coalition. Although the Progressive Conservatives remained the governing party, the change in the government leadership in late 1992 contributed significantly to the policy shift related to the extension of degree conferring authority to the private colleges. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) state that "elections that change important actors - but not an entire system-wide governing coalition - can still inaugurate important changes in subsystem policies" (p. 222). The ascension of the leadership of Premier Ralph Klein coincided with a shift in power away from urban professionals (i.e., university staff, ATA members, and civil servants) and toward rural moral conservatives, who lobbied for regional access to government, decentralization of government services, Christian social morality, and financial support for private Christian schools and colleges.

The cumulative effects of this shift in power led to unexpected policy outputs from other subsystems. For example, a significant result of the general reduction in government expenditures was reduced financial support for public postsecondary education. At the same time the government's increasing acceptance of the New Right values of choice, efficiency, and accountability provided the rationale for further empowerment of private colleges. Finally, the window of opportunity created by shifting public opinion was successfully exploited by advocates of the private colleges (supra, pp. 112-113). Neoliberal values such as privatization were skillfully promoted by business groups such as the Chamber of Commerce. They reinforced the government message about the problems of deficit spending and desirability of retiring provincial debt. Neoconservative Albertans were also effectively organized by the Association of Independent Schools and Colleges of Alberta (AISCA) to lobby their MLAs in support of public funding for private education in Alberta.

Policy-oriented learning

An important feature of the ACF is the assumption that coalitions have policy preferences based on their belief systems. Policy-oriented learning suggests that those coalition policy preferences and belief systems can be changed with scientific and technical analyses by experts in the advocacy coalition. However, although policy-oriented learning may take place, advocacy coalition members will resist information which suggests that their policy core beliefs are invalid or unattainable. Policy-oriented learning refers to relatively enduring alterations of thought which result from experience or new information (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 42). New information can involve increased knowledge of problem parameters, internal evaluation of policy effectiveness, perceptions concerning external dynamics, and changing perceptions regarding probable impacts of alternative policies (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1997, p. 10).

Hypotheses 6 through 9 and Hypothesis 12 deal with conditions conducive to policy-oriented learning across coalitions. These hypotheses are based upon the premise that advocacy coalitions resist changing their policy core and secondary aspects of their belief systems, and that only solid empirical evidence is likely to stimulate policy-oriented learning.

> ***Hypothesis 6:*** Policy-oriented learning across belief systems is most likely when there is an intermediate level of informed conflict between the two. In such a situation, it is likely that:
> 1. Each coalition has the technical resources to engage in such a debate; and
> 2. The conflict be between secondary aspects of one belief system and core elements of the other or, alternatively, between important secondary aspects of the two belief systems. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 50)

While each of the coalitions has the technical resources to engage in debate, in the current case study on extension of BEd degree conferring there was limited debate in public. Some support for the King's BEd program was evident in the *Alberta Report* (Jenkinson, 1994, 1995), a neoconservative periodical and criticism of the policy change was reported in the *ATA News* (Duthler, 1996; Gatti, 1996; Russell, 1997). The policy change was also debated at the ATA policy forum 1995 Annual Representative Assembly (ARA), and both advocacy coalitions made formal submissions to the PCAB (Alberta Teacher's Association, 1992; The King's University College, 1993 and 1994). With respect to the second point of Hypothesis 6, conflict between the two coalitions was primarily about an important secondary aspect of their belief systems, that is, the desirability of extending regulatory authority for BEd degree conferring in the private colleges. However, the policy debate also represents a clash of policy core beliefs concerning fundamentally different visions of postsecondary education. Because the conflict is axiomatic to the belief systems of both advocacy coalitions, consensus and compromise are difficult to attain, and policy-oriented learning in this case is problematic.

Hypothesis 12 suggests that technical information can stimulate policy-oriented learning in policy brokers and other important government officials, even in the absence of learning by the advocacy coalitions.

> ***Hypothesis 12:*** Even when the accumulation of technical information does not change the views of the opposing coalition, it can have important impacts on policy - at least in the short term - by altering the views of policy brokers or other important government officials. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 219).

In the current case study, the Horowitz et al. (1994) team's external evaluation of The King's College's capacity to offer a competent BEd program was a critical piece of technical information. This report apparently did not convince the advocacy coalition opposing the King's BEd proposal, but it had enabled policy-oriented learning by policy brokers. The PCAB and its chair, Worth, now had hard evidence of institutional competence, their primary rationale for approving applications. The King's College advocates now also had technical support for their program and were quick to lobby government officials. Horowitz and staff at public university faculties of education, although philosophically opposed to BEd degree conferring in the private colleges, now were less certain about their opposition when the quality issue was removed from doubt.

Although the Horowitz et al. (1994) external evaluation report provided evidence of the merits of the proposed BEd program of The King's College, this information does not appear to have stimulated policy-oriented learning by opponents of the policy shift. This lack of learning is anticipated by Hypothesis 7 and Hypothesis 8, which predict the absence of policy-oriented learning in problems that are generally qualitative and involve social or political systems.

> ***Hypothesis 7:*** Problems for which accepted quantitative data and theory exist are more conducive to policy-oriented learning, than those in which data and theory are generally qualitative, quite subjective, or altogether lacking. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 52)

> ***Hypothesis 8:*** Problems involving natural systems are more conducive to policy-oriented learning than those involving purely social or political systems because in the former many of the critical variables are *not* themselves active strategists and controlled experimentation is more feasible. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 52)

Because information supporting an extension of BEd degree conferring in the private colleges is substantially ideologically based and the external evaluation of a prospective BEd program essentially speculative, Hypothesis 7 suggests difficulty in achieving policy-oriented learning opportunities by opponents of extension of degree conferring authority. Similarly, as the current case study involves changes in the social systems, Hypothesis 8 again predicts difficulty in attaining policy-oriented learning. Finally, the existence of continued opposition to the policy which extends BEd degree conferring authority demonstrates apparent lack of policy-oriented learning, at least by the ATA leadership, consistent with the tenets of Hypotheses 7 and 8.

In the current case study policy-oriented learning is impeded by lack of quantitative data and by the absence of a natural system where controlled experimentation is more feasible. The sole ACF hypothesis that suggests opportunity for policy-oriented learning across belief systems is Hypothesis 9 which states that policy-oriented learning is most likely when there exists a respected forum dominated by professional norms. The professional forum can stimulate policy-oriented learning because it is relatively apolitical. Professional fora can moderate partisan and ideological debate because the professional norms serve as a partial countervailing force to member belief systems (Lindquist, 1992, pp. 154-155). Professional norms include standards for evaluating policy options, a desire for professional credibility and the norms of scientific debate. Traditional attempts to encourage learning among competing policy advocates have taken the form of government councils, royal commissions, and industry conferences.

> ***Hypothesis 9:*** Policy-oriented learning across belief systems is most likely when there exists a forum that is:
> 1. Prestigious enough to force professionals from different coalitions to participate; and
> 2. Dominated by professional norms. (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 54)

In the current case study the PCAB was the professional forum with authority to determine policy at which both advocacy coalitions were professionally represented. The PCAB forum forced expert and open debate in which the merits and weaknesses of opposing arguments were exposed. Although opponents of the extension of BEd degree conferring remained unconvinced by the PCAB position to favorably view the technical information supporting the King's BEd application (supra, pp. 94-96), they had been effectively co-opted by the prestigious professional forum of the PCAB hearings process (supra, pp. 125-126). The PCAB application process had in effect reduced the ideologically based policy dispute to an apolitical and technical "competence to offer program" decision and dismissed the heartfelt fears of the ATA as attempts to "turf protect." In this case potential policy-oriented learning by the ATA, which might have been expected to result from the PCAB forum, was negated by the effects of their perceived political defeat. With respect to policy-oriented learning by the private colleges, it could be argued that these institutions responded to the needs of the PCAB. The King's College staff altered their BEd application as suggested by the PCAB and were ultimately rewarded with approval.

It might be argued that the ATA has learned to change its strategy in opposing BEd degree conferring authority in the private colleges but there has been little apparent change in their fundamental policy. The one exception to this observation is the 1998 ATA policy shift which accepted BEd outreach programs in regional colleges when public universities conferred the degree. An examination of Hypotheses 6 through 9 provides no expectation for policy-oriented learning by opponents of the extension of BEd degree conferring in the private colleges, and little data collected indicate policy-oriented learning by opponents of the policy change. However, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) suggest other possibilities for policy-oriented learning opportunities in advocacy coalitions. Policy-oriented learning is concerned with the changes over time in the distribution of people in a coalition or policy subsystem. Changes in distribution of beliefs include (a) individual learning and attitudinal change, (b) diffusion on new beliefs and attitudes among individuals, (c) turnover in individuals within any collectivity, (d) group dynamics, and (e) rules for aggregating preferences and for promoting communication among individuals (p. 42). Changes in distribution of beliefs begins with individual learning which may be resisted by group dynamics and diffused in the coalition. Diffusion depends on the turnover rate of individuals in the coalition, the compatibility of new information with existing beliefs, the persuasiveness of new information, and the extent of political pressures for change.

Although policy-oriented learning by opponents of the policy change in the current study has not been evident, change in the distribution of beliefs is the most probable source of eventual policy-oriented learning available to the advocacy coalition opposed to the extension of BEd degree conferring to the private colleges. Policy-oriented learning will be difficult, however. Lindquist (1992) stated: "forging new values is often more difficult than defending old ones" (p. 153). Throughout the period of the debate on this issue, the ATA was a well led organization which communicated its policy preferences to its members via the *ATA News* and other print materials, local ATA organizations, elected District Representatives to Provincial Executive Council, and annual ARA policy deliberations. Policy core and secondary aspects of the ATA belief system remain well coordinated and highly resistant to change, all things remaining equal.

The distribution of the ATA beliefs opposing private college prepared teachers appears however, to be changing. At the time of this research there were two private college BEd programs graduating teachers in Alberta. Their numbers in 1998 were small but slowly increasing. Perhaps 60 new teachers per year were entering the Alberta teaching ranks and membership of the ATA via private college BEd programs out of a total of more than 33,000 active and associate members. Additionally, in the fall of 1998 private Christian schools negotiated entry into the public education system (Elliot, 1998). The teaching staffs of these schools, who have Christian values similar to the private college prepared teachers, have also entered into ATA membership. Private college prepared teachers and former private Christian school teachers bring different belief systems into the ATA. If they are successful teachers, their success will also affect the perceptions and attitudes of the teachers with whom they work, and these attitudes will diffuse. There is constant turnover in the teaching profession. Retiring teachers may remember how teachers struggled for professional respect and a fair salary. Teachers new to the profession may however, witness the professional success of private college prepared teachers. The ATA Annual Representative Assembly (ARA) will eventually reflect entry of the private college prepared teachers and Christian teachers entering the public education system. Time and the changing composition of the teaching profession will present opportunities for policy-oriented learning that was not evident at the time of the current study. The ATA leadership is also aware of the changing composition of their membership as the retiring Executive Secretary Buski stated, "Each new generation of teachers has left its mark on the teaching profession . . . A new generation of teachers is entering the profession and it's incumbent upon the ATA to ensure that those things deemed 'sacrosanct' are protected" (Gariepy, 1998, p. 5).

The purpose of this speculation about potential policy-oriented learning and the changing distribution of ATA beliefs serves to illustrate an important point. Policy-oriented learning eventually takes place by members of advocacy coalitions as they adjust policy strategies due to coalition analysis about the evolving policy environment. While this study provides a retrospective examination of the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta, the study is limited to a description of an unfolding postsecondary environment to this point in time. This demonstrates the ACF requirement of long time frames for the study of policy change and why Sroufe (1995) argued that educational policy "issues are never fully ended; each period of quietude simply becomes the backdrop for the next stage of intense activity" (p. 80).

Conclusions

This chapter identified the major premises of the ACF and demonstrated how ACF hypotheses are useful analytical tools for presentation of the apparently contradictory respondent interview data. The advocacy coalition framework for the study of policy change is an effective model because it addresses the importance of the aggregation of divergent policy actors into advocacy coalitions, the significance of technical information in policy debate, the role of policy brokers in policy-oriented learning and the value of time frames of at least a decade. The framework also provides for the identification of coalition beliefs and policy core preferences of advocacy coalition actors, contributes important perspectives on the role of external perturbations to policy development and examines subsystem policy-oriented learning. For the important contributions that the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993, 1997) ACF model makes in all of these areas, the current study confirms the utility of ACF premises and hypotheses in this particular case study of policy change in Alberta postsecondary education.

Finally, with respect to the utility of the ACF to represent the dynamics of policy, Dye (1992, p. 45) offers criteria for evaluating the usefulness of models. Dye suggests that effective models should satisfy the following measures of utility:

1. A model should order and simplify political life so that one can understand relationships in the real world.

2. A model should identify what is significant in public policy processes and should focus upon the causes and consequences of public policy.

3. A model should be congruent with reality and have an empirical basis.

4. A model should help to direct inquiry and research in public policy. It should refer to phenomena which can be observed, measured, and verified and should suggest relationships in the real world that can be tested.

5. A model should suggest an explanation and provide hypotheses about causation of public policy which can be tested against real world data. A concept which merely describes public policy is not as useful as a concept which suggests an explanation.

Analysis of the current study data with the ACF provided a comprehensive representation of public policy change and satisfies the Dye (1992) criteria for establishing the utility of a model. The ACF enables the identification of policy elites and their values, which assists in understanding of important relationships in policy change processes. The ACF assists the observer focus on causation and requires an empirical base of data. The analytical framework directs data collection in the policy subsystem and considers factors exogenous to the subsystem. Finally, the ACF provides hypotheses which are testable against empirical data.

CHAPTER 7

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY, FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This chapter presents an overview of the study and identifies seven findings. A discussion follows on the findings, two conclusions, and the potential implications of these findings for practice, for policy theory, and for further study. The chapter ends with reflections of the researcher.

Overview of the Study

The year 1995 was a watershed for the extension of teacher preparation programs in Alberta. During that year the Minister of Advanced Education and Career Development authorized two private colleges to grant Bachelor of Education (BEd) degrees. The stakeholders opposing the new BEd degree conferring programs in Alberta consisted of the Faculties of Education of Alberta's public universities, the Alberta Teachers' Association, and professional staff at the Alberta Department of Education. In spite of this opposition, the provincial government provided the authority for the new BEd programs. Skolnik (1987) defends governments' prerogative for intervention in higher education and states that the "fundamental instance of government intervention in the university is at the stage of conception" (p. 56). Further, Skolnik (1997) has called postsecondary changes in Alberta and British Columbia "imaginative new designs" (p. 10). However, having the authority to provide for new degree conferring authority, even if these developments are imaginative, does not in itself explain why the Alberta government would do so in the face of considerable opposition.

The analysis of policy processes is a complex task which, according to Dror (1981, pp. 55-56), typically includes an examination of a range of interactions and factors including underlying values and assumptions, consideration of political variables, treatment of broader complex issues, emphasis on policy alternatives, recognition of ideologies, and institutional self-awareness. Ball (1990) also broadly described the challenge of policy analysis:

> One basic task, then, is to plot the changing ideological, economic and political parameters of policy and to relate the ideological, political and economics to the dynamics of policy debate and policy formulation. A major problem will be to establish links, if any, between these elements, and their links, if any, to policy making. (p. 8)

The current study of postsecondary policy change in Alberta considered variables identified by Dror (1981) and Ball (1990), including the values and assumptions of competing stakeholders in the policy process, contextual political circumstances, recognition of the ideologies at play, and the perspectives of the institutional stakeholders. By exposing these policy variables, this study endeavored to provide an explanation of causation for the unfolding policy and to outline the chronology of the policy change which provides for extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta.

The purpose of this study was to understand the rationale of policy makers and to describe the process of extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta postsecondary institutions. One recent case, in which The King's University College was able to achieve degree conferring authority for a Bachelor of Education (BEd) program, was utilized to illustrate the policy process. It should be added, however, that policy studies are seldom able to tackle a single problem, but rather "face a cluster of entangled problems" which are complex and interconnected, and whose boundaries are difficult to define (Pal, 1997, p. 3). This particular problem of postsecondary education change in Alberta is influenced by international change in teacher preparation and by recent global restructuring of universities, and is interconnected with changes to public education policy and other public policies in Alberta. Dobuzinskis (1996) concurs that policy problems are increasingly complex and reports a "blurring of the distinction between domestic and international issues" (p. 93).

The general research question this study addressed was, What were the causes of the policy change which extended degree conferring authority in Alberta? Sub-problems included an explication of the context of teacher education in Alberta, description of the process whereby The King's University College attained BEd degree conferring authority, identification of the key stakeholders and the sources of pressure for the policy change, and identification of the competing perspectives of stakeholders in the policy debate on extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private postsecondary institutions in Alberta.

Although some research has been done on the extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta (Montgomerie, 1990; Small, 1979), this study identifies more recent postsecondary developments. In particular, the study highlights the development of a new teacher preparation program. Examination of this unfolding Alberta postsecondary policy reveals an important story about politics, advocacy coalitions, and the effects of New Right ideology which may illuminate theory on policy development. The study employed and confirms the utility of the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) framework for analysis of policy change in the Alberta context.

This study was delimited by its focus on The King's University College Bachelor of Education program in the broader context of Alberta's postsecondary and political environment. Interviews were delimited to key actors and policy planners who participated in the process whereby The King's University College obtained degree conferring authority for its new BEd program.

The data collection had two thrusts. The first of these involved an historical examination of postsecondary education in Alberta to better understand the context of the currently unfolding policy. The development of teacher education in Alberta, England, and the United States was also reviewed to determine the place of teacher preparation in the growth of postsecondary education. The second thrust of the research was the case study of The King's University College and the process whereby this institution obtained the authority to confer BEd degrees. This second phase of the research was informed primarily by interviews with key actors. An examination of the process by which The King's University College was able to obtain BEd degree conferring authority provides an illustration of decentralization of degree conferring in the Alberta postsecondary context and exposes the perspectives of the key policy actors.

As implied above, the study employed two data collection strategies. Documents pertaining to new degree conferring programs were reviewed. Interviews followed with key actors in targeted organizations. These interviews were audio recorded and the recordings transcribed. Mawhinney (1994b) argued that policy studies have a methodological "requirement to gather narratives from policy actors, many of whom are political elites" (p. 29). Guba and Lincoln (1981, p. 187) supported the interview as virtually the only data collection strategy that provides access to "elites." The respondents chosen for the current study were representative of the elites who had direct influence on the emerging public policy that extends BEd degree conferring in Alberta. They included former representatives of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB), including two former chairs; professors from the University of Alberta Faculty of Education who were directly involved in the policy process; professors and administrators from private colleges; staff officers of the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA); and civil service respondents from the provincial Departments of Alberta Education and Alberta Advanced Education.

A semistructured interview schedule provided a flexible guide to probe issues appropriate to the respondents' experiences in the policy development process. The objectives of the interviews included identification of respondent perceptions about the causation of extension of BEd degree conferring authority, identification of key actors and their roles in the policy change, and identification of the policy positions of individuals in the focal organizations on the question of extending BEd degree conferring authority to private postsecondary institutions. Interviews were also intended to ascertain the key assumptions and values of policy actors and thereby aggregate like-minded stakeholders into advocacy coalitions.

Findings of the Study

Seven findings address specific research sub-problems of the study. The first finding addresses the first sub-problem by explicating the context of teacher education in Alberta leading up to the policy change which extended BEd degree conferring authority. The second finding addresses the second study Sub-problem by explaining the process whereby The King's University College was able to achieve BEd degree conferring authority. The third finding addresses the third and fourth research Sub-problems. This finding aggregates the policy stakeholders in opposing advocacy coalitions based on their policy preferences and values. Use of the ACF model, explicated in Finding 4, enabled the researcher to provide answers to Sub-problems 4 and 5. The fourth finding confirms the utility of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) of Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) for the current case study problem of policy change. The fifth study finding describes the policy model of incrementalism, which was supported by stakeholder perceptions and thereby also addressed Sub-problem 4. Finally, Findings 6 and 7 identify study respondent expectations for the future and addressed research Sub-problem 6 on potential impacts of the policy change. These seven findings were as follows:

1. Teacher education in Alberta has undergone a long process of decentralization from the University of Alberta, which had exclusive authority for teacher education since closure of the Normal Schools in 1945. Considerable decentralization of teacher education in the post World War II era began with the creation of faculties of education in the new universities of Calgary and Lethbridge in 1966 and 1967 respectively. Escalation of decentralization of degree conferring authority in the last decade has followed the Alberta government's adoption of neoliberal values.

2. Following development of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB) in 1984 which enabled private colleges to attain degree conferring authority, The King's University College initiated an application process with the PCAB which culminated in authority to offer a BEd program beginning in 1995.

3. The stakeholders in the policy debate which has resulted in the extension of BEd degree conferring authority could be divided into two opposing advocacy coalitions based on their opposing policy preferences, underlying values, and belief systems. The advocacy coalition opposing the extension of BEd degree conferring in private colleges consists of the leadership of the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA), staffs of the Alberta public university faculties of education, and personnel of the Department of Alberta Education. The advocacy coalition supporting the policy change which extends BEd degree conferring at private colleges consists of staffs, administration, and supporters of the private colleges, advocates of regional development and supporters of the regional colleges, government MLAs, civil servants in the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development, and members of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB) of Alberta.

4. The model used as a tool for analysis and presentation of the study data, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), was useful for understanding the characteristics of the policy change data in the current case study on extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta. The utility of this model is confirmed.

5. Study respondents expected that postsecondary policy in Alberta would continue to change incrementally. Incrementalism, with its ability to incorporate useful concepts of elite theory and ACF policy brokers who sought compromise and system stability, is presented as a descriptive model which embodied the respondent's perceptions of policy evolution in the current case study.

6. Study respondents anticipated conflict in the policy domain and resistance in policy implementation by members of the advocacy coalition which opposed the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private colleges.

7. Finally, study respondents anticipated that there would be a further extension of new degree conferring authority to Alberta postsecondary institutions that do not currently have such authority.

Discussion of the Findings

A discussion follows on each of the findings identified above. The number designated for each subheading corresponds with the study finding of the same number.

1. **The context of teacher education in Alberta: decentralization and neoliberalization of postsecondary education.** An underlying theme of the historical development of postsecondary education in Alberta is the gradual decentralization of access to and delivery of postsecondary programs. Although historically the official position of the Alberta government was centrist with respect to degree conferring, as evident by the government's support for degree conferring remaining exclusively with the University of Alberta for more than half a century, decentralization pressures for regional delivery of postsecondary education gradually affected government policy. In the 1960s pressures for increased accessibility resulted in the creation of two new universities, one in Calgary (1966) and the other in Lethbridge (1967); two technical schools, the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology (SAIT, 1960) - formerly the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art, and the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT, 1962); and several public colleges including Red Deer College (1964), Medicine Hat College (1965), and Grande Prairie College (1966). Both the University of Calgary and the University of Lethbridge began as decentralized access points of study for University of Alberta transfer programs. Each achieved university status when their academic programs grew and matured.

In addition to a diversified system of public postsecondary education, there existed a long and rich history of private colleges in Alberta. Alberta College, as a private Methodist institution, predated the birth of both the province and the University of Alberta. Other private Christian colleges developed early in the province's history, including Calgary College (1910), Camrose Lutheran College (1910), Mount Royal College (1910), Robertson College (1911), College Saint-Jean (1911), Concordia College (1920), St. Stephen's College (1926), and St. Joseph's University Catholic College (1926) (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980). The deep roots of the private colleges in Alberta are indicative of these colleges' secure acceptance in the political, cultural, and religious fabric of the province. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the extension of degree conferring in Alberta during the last decade has been achieved by the private Christian colleges, of which The King's University College is but one example.
The inception of the PCAB in 1984 was indicative of decentralization pressures in Alberta on the postsecondary education system, which enabled private colleges to gain authority to confer degrees.

In the years immediately preceding the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to the King's University College, government documents pointed to continuation of the historical trend of decentralization of postsecondary education access in Alberta. The goals of accessibility and responsiveness, identified in Alberta government documents *Responding to Existing and Emerging Demands for University Education* (Alberta Advanced Education, 1990) and *New Directions* (Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development, 1994) are complementary and part of the decentralization trend that has been evident in Alberta since the 1960s (Andrews, 1995). Improved responsiveness, increased accessibility, and their corollary, decentralization, mean that rural students might not have to go to a major center for their higher education. Universities, by virtue of their large faculties and administrative structures, are more ponderous in their planning processes and less responsive to change or to community needs (Fowler, 1994). On the other hand, the ability of small colleges to be responsive to their constituencies may partially explain the proliferation of degree conferring programs that has recently been observed in Alberta.

Analysis of recent postsecondary developments in Alberta suggests that Alberta has long since passed the stage when rapid growth of institutions was financed by the public purse. Rather, the present stage of post secondary finance in Alberta can be described as "reductionist" (Michael & Holdaway, 1991). This stage is characterized by a decline in government funding for traditional postsecondary programs and a loss of faith in economic return for public investment in human capital development. The reductionist trend is manifest in provincial fiscal restraint and shrinking public support for universities in Alberta. Andrews (1995) similarly suggested that the emerging theme for postsecondary education in Alberta during the 1990s can be characterized as "pragmatic." The government's decision to allow The King's College authority to confer a BEd degree could be described as "pragmatic," because the college had political support and a good academic track record, and the new BEd program was achieved at minimal or "reductionist" levels of government support.

Michael and Holdaway (1991) also state that "entrepreneurialism" is emerging as a stage in the development of postsecondary education in Alberta. The King's BEd program is a manifestation of educational entrepreneurialiam. With fiscal restraint limiting public support for a growing postsecondary educational system, provincial government policy has emphasized self-sufficiency. If new postsecondary programs such as The King's University College BEd program are to succeed, the market will have to play a significant role. Dennison (1995) probed the relationship of decentralization, entrepreneurialism, and responsiveness. He stated that colleges are especially vulnerable to provincial funding cuts and as a result are required to market directly with private sector partners. This requires increased market responsiveness and entrepreneurial risk taking by college administration. This activity complements neoliberal postsecondary values increasingly advocated by Western governments (Pannu et al., 1994, p. 505). The entrepreneurial focus on alternate sources of postsecondary finance also involves private endowment campaigns and soliciting donations from alumni. The BEd program at King's University College satisfies these entrepreneurial criteria. King's is reliant on tuition and the Christian community for financial support. Additionally, the King's BEd program can be viewed as an adept response to the niche market demand for Christian teachers in the growing private Christian schools market.

The decentralization strategies identified in the development scenarios of Alberta Advanced Education (1990), including the growth of transfer programs in public colleges, increasing numbers of degree conferring programs in private colleges, increasing use of university outreach programs at public colleges, and new applied degrees at technical institutes, can all be observed in Alberta, though none of these strategies has been predominant. In the autumn of 1995, the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development announced that five community colleges and institutes of technology had been granted authority to confer applied degrees. This announcement came only one year after announcements that The King's University College was empowered to offer a BEd program beginning in the fall of 1995 and that Concordia University College could begin a similar BEd program in the fall of 1996. Also in 1995, upon recommendation of the PCAB, an Order-in-Council provided Canadian Union College with authority to offer three and four year Bachelor of Science degrees and to award four year Bachelor of Arts degrees. Although no announcement had been made, the initial two years of the BEd program that the University of Alberta offered as an outreach university transfer program at Grande Prairie Regional Community College had, without apparent fanfare, become a four year BEd program with the degree conferred by the University of Alberta. In effect, the Grande Prairie BEd program which led to a U of A conferred degree (1995-97) was a brokered program not unlike the university affiliated BEd programs begun in the BC university-colleges in the late 1980s (Fowler, 1994).

This rapid decentralization of degree conferring programs within a short time frame apparently represents a flowering of postsecondary education policy. However, if one examines changes in the postsecondary landscape over the years following the establishment of the PCAB in 1984, and the release of the policy documents *Responding to Existing and Emerging Demands for University Education* (Alberta Advanced Education, 1990) and *New Directions* (Alberta Advanced Education and

Career Development, 1994), it seem probable that the decentralization of university education in Alberta has been in the formative stages for the past two decades. The applied degree programs of the technical institutes were identified as an option in the *Responding* (1990) document, as were increased degree conferring roles for both the private and public colleges.

Philosophically, the extension of BEd conferring authority to King's University College satisfies provincial postsecondary education goals of increased responsiveness to emerging markets and encourages entrepreneurialism and public choice, neoliberal values that seem to have been increasingly embraced by the Alberta government in the 1990s. Each of the descriptor terms identified in the literature on postsecondary policy change in Alberta, that is, decentralization, accessibility, responsiveness, entrepreneurialism, and pragmatism were confirmed as important descriptors by the respondents in this study. Decentralization of access for teacher preparation is an idea in Alberta that dates from the era of the provincial normal schools (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980). Institutional responsiveness, entrepreneurialism and pragmatism are, however, more recent developments in the mainstream postsecondary education environment which originated in New Right ideological values. Rae (1996) argued forcefully that the policy options emerging in Alberta after the *New Directions* (1994) document signal increasing "privatization" of the postsecondary education sector. Although this argument may be an overstatement, the shift toward New Right policy preferences evident in these postsecondary descriptors appear to be at the core of the extension of BEd degree conferring debate and underscore the vigorously contested nature of the policy deliberations.

2. The role of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB). The first tangible indication that the provincial government was in favor of granting colleges the right to offer more than transfer provisions for the first two years of university study was evident in amendments to the Universities Act (1980) which empowered private colleges to offer full degree programs in affiliation with a provincial university. However, this provision did not lead to the extension of undergraduate programs in any of the colleges in Alberta. Failure of colleges to obtain affiliation with a public university in Alberta was examined by Skolnik (1987) who found the affiliation requirement to be a "weighty restriction indeed" (p. 69).

The fundamental change to the Alberta postsecondary environment that has made possible the provision of degree conferring status to private postsecondary institutions was the conception and development of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board

(PCAB). In 1983, an amendment to the Universities Act provided for the creation of the PCAB. This board was empowered to set minimum conditions to be met by private colleges proposing to offer programs leading to bachelor's degrees, evaluate proposed private college baccalaureate programs, and make recommendations to the Minister of Advanced Education on applications for degree conferring authority. The PCAB is also responsible for periodic review of accredited programs and may recommend the removal of accreditation for degree conferring programs. The composition of the PCAB consisted of one representative from each of the four public universities of Alberta (the Universities of Calgary, Lethbridge, Athabasca, and Alberta), one representative from each of the four private colleges of Alberta (Augustana, King's, Concordia, and Canadian Union College), and four members from the public at large.

The creation of the PCAB can be understood in the context of its role in satisfying several needs of the government, including the government's desire to control postsecondary education, concerns about maintaining postsecondary education quality control and increasing student access, and the government's desire to implement the policy objectives of fiscal restraint and financial accountability. As a creation of the Alberta government, mandated to evaluate proposals of private colleges for degree granting authority, the PCAB is directly responsible to the government. The staff of the PCAB are employed by Advanced Education and Career Development and its Board members are appointed by the Minister.

The ACF assumes that most administrative agencies, such as the PCAB, have missions that make them part of a specific coalition (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 214). Pressman and Wildavsky (1979) provide the construct "capture theory" (p. 182) which holds that regulatory commissions inevitably become captured by the interests they are supposed to regulate because these are the forces that care most about what the regulatory commission does. In Alberta it appears that once the PCAB was established and began reviewing applications for degree conferring authority, the PCAB identified with and was captured by the interests of the private college sector whom it was created to serve.

In Alberta the PCAB has provided the vehicle for government policy to extend degree conferring, first in Arts and Science degrees and then, more recently, in the cases of The King's University College and Concordia University College, professional degrees in Education. The direction of the PCAB has been clear. In a memorandum from David Russell, Deputy Premier and Minister of Advanced Education to Nancy Betkowski, Minister of Education, dated March 3, 1988, Russel stated: "Advanced

Education does not have any objections to the principle of private colleges seeking approval to grant professional degrees." It is not surprising, therefore, that Advanced Education and Career Development and its predecessor, the Department of Advanced Education, with the PCAB as an arm of these departments, are members of the advocacy coalition that supported the aspirations of the private colleges to achieve professional degree conferring status. Indeed, with respect to the predisposition of the PCAB to support the extension of degree conferring, Dr. S. Murgatroyd, a former board member of the PCAB and professor of Athabasca University, stated explicitly:

> The intention of the PCAB is to end the monopoly of the four major universities on degree granting by giving degree granting to the public colleges, increase private college degree granting and to open up degree granting to private sector organizations.

3. **Policy advocacy and stakeholder values**. The stakeholders in the policy debate which extends degree conferring authority to the private colleges can be aggregated into two opposing advocacy coalitions based on their respective values and belief systems (supra, p. 140). The advocacy coalition in favor of decentralization of degree conferring consisted of advocates of private postsecondary institutions, advocates of the public colleges, government MLAs, civil servants in the Alberta Department of Advanced Education and Career Development, and members of the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB). The interests of advocates for the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private postsecondary institutions coincided with emerging government ideology to increase choice and competition in public policy spheres.

The private colleges, in concert with the Association of Independent Schools and Colleges of Alberta (AISCA), initiated a formidable lobby effort directed at MLAs and the public in support of The King's University College application to the PCAB for BEd degree conferring authority. They appealed to proponents of choice, competition, and decentralized access to government services. Government MLAs were pressured by this lobby to support improved regional access to postsecondary education. The prevailing government predisposition to embrace choice and deficit reduction benefited private institutions which offered an alternative to publicly funded universities at less cost to the public purse. The Department of Advanced Education and Career Development was also amenable to supporting the opening of new postsecondary student places during a period of fiscal restraint. The PCAB, which supported The King's University College BEd application, can be viewed in the language of Pressman and Wildavsky (1979), as a "captured" member of this advocacy coalition. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993,

p. 214) anticipated this possibility in their observation that administrative agencies are often active members of specific coalitions.

The ATA leadership, faculty of education staffs at the public universities, and many Alberta Education personnel together formed the advocacy coalition that was opposed to private college BEd programs. Because these organizations were staffed predominantly by teachers or former teachers, their members saw educational issues similarly, were protective of teacher status, and were concerned in general about the professional aspirations of teachers. The staffs of the ATA, faculties of education, and Alberta Education also had close working relationships. The faculties of education in the public universities sought cooperation from the ATA to facilitate making student teaching practicum field placements. Education professors worked so closely with the ATA that the retiring Executive Secretary of the ATA has referred to the University of Alberta Faculty of Education as "*our* faculty of education" (Gariepy, 1998, p. 5). Alberta faculties of education staff also worked closely with the Teacher Certification Branch of the Alberta Department of Education to satisfy this branch that public university BEd graduates were prepared to be certified as teachers. Civil servants in the employ of the Department of Alberta Education had a close working relationship with the ATA as the department fundamentally depended on ATA support for implementation of various policies. Additionally, the future of the Teacher Certification Branch of Alberta Education may be tentative in the current government climate which favors privatization of public services. Because British Columbia and Ontario have a College of Teachers which controls teacher certification in those provinces, this may provide impetus for the Alberta government to similarly delegate teacher certification to the profession. For these reasons, which relate to common professional training of their staffs and common organizational goals, the professional relationships among the ATA, the Department of Alberta Education, and the public university faculties of education staff appear to be symbiotic.

Although the policy debate in this study of decentralization of teacher preparation was conducted at the provincial level and examined the policy struggle between two provincial advocacy coalitions, the debate seemed to reflect a values conflict about the broader pressures for globalization and international policy convergence. Underpinning the policy debate about the extension of degree conferring is the ideological debate about the role of market forces versus the role of large government in society. The private colleges were found to be advocates of decentralization, consumer choice, and privatization. The ATA champions the values of secular humanism in the common school, values that private Christian colleges reject. International pressure from the New Right, which supports privatization of postsecondary education, is exemplified by the position of the World Bank that teacher unions are a major obstacle to implementation of reform in educational finance and educational management (Brown, 1994, p. 19). This fundamental clash of values between the advocates of extension of degree conferring authority to the private colleges with ideological support from the New Right and the values of the teaching profession led by the ATA, appeared to be at the root of the antagonism between the two opposing advocacy coalitions in the debate about the extension of BEd degree conferring authority.

4. **The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)**. The model adopted in the current study for analysis and presentation of the data was the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) advocacy coalition framework (ACF) of policy change. The strengths of this model include that it addresses the importance of policy communities, the importance of aggregating stakeholders in advocacy coalitions according to policy preferences and belief systems, the importance of substantive policy information, the role of policy elites in policy-oriented learning, and the need for study time frames of at least a decade in duration.

The advocacy coalition framework views policy change over time as a function of three sets of factors: interaction of competing advocacy coalitions in the policy subsystem, events external to the policy subsystem such as socio-economic or political change, and the system effects of contextual parameters. Conflict among competing advocacy coalitions is common and mediated by policy brokers who are more concerned with system stability than achieving policy change. Impetus for policy change might originate from interactions in the policy subsystem and the larger political and economic system in which the policy subsystem is embedded.

An important contribution in subsystem analysis is the concept of policy-oriented learning which suggests that changes in coalition positions result over time from interaction within the policy subsystem. Sabatier (1986, p. 38) contended that studies incorporating 10 to 15 year time spans report successful implementation. This suggests a process of policy learning as proponents of policy change find supportive constituencies and develop strategies for responding to program deficiencies. Policy-oriented learning follows change in policy-oriented belief systems. Sabatier suggested that advocacy coalition positions reflect the belief systems of elites within the policy subsystem. Those belief systems distinguish between "core" and "secondary" elements. Coalitions coalesce around common core beliefs, such as the proper scope of governmental or market activity. Since these core beliefs are stable over periods of a decade or more, coalitions are also stable. Because of the strength of core beliefs, policy-oriented learning is usually confined to secondary belief systems such as administrative rules or budgetary allocations. The effects of policy-oriented learning confirms Dye's (1992) contention that policy change is generally incremental as elites strive to maintain stability in the system. Sabatier theorized that changes in core beliefs that precipitate significant policy change occur only with the replacement of a dominant coalition by another due to changes external to the subsystem.

The advocacy coalition framework for study of policy change is an effective model because it addresses the importance of the aggregation of divergent policy actors into advocacy coalitions, the significance of technical information in policy debate, the role of policy brokers in policy-oriented learning, and the value of time frames of at least a decade. The framework also provides for the identification of coalition beliefs and policy core preferences of advocacy coalition actors, contributes an important perspective on the role of external perturbations to policy development, and examines subsystem policy-oriented learning. For the important contributions that the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith model (1993, 1997) made in all of these areas, the current study confirms utility of ACF premises and hypotheses in this particular case study of policy change in Alberta postsecondary education.

Dye (1992, p. 45) offered criteria for evaluating the usefulness of models. Dye suggested that effective models should satisfy the following measures of utility:

1. A model should order and simplify political life so that one can understand relationships in the real world.

2. A model should identify what is significant in public policy processes and should focus upon the causes and consequences of public policy.

3. A model should be congruent with reality and have an empirical basis.

4. A model should help to direct inquiry and research in public policy. It should refer to phenomena which can be observed, measured, and verified and should suggest relationships in the real world that can be tested.

5. A model should suggest an explanation and provide hypotheses about causation of public policy which can be tested against real world data. A concept which merely describes public policy is not as useful as a concept which suggests an explanation.

Analysis of the current study data with the ACF provided a comprehensive representation of public policy change and satisfies the Dye (1992) criteria for the utility of models. The ACF enables identification of policy elites and their values, which assists in the understanding of important relationships in policy change processes. The ACF assists the observer focus on causation and requires an empirical base of data. The analytical framework directs data collection in the policy subsystem and considers factors exogenous to the subsystem. Finally, the ACF provides hypotheses which are testable against empirical data.

5. **Incremental policy evolution**. The fifth thematic finding of the study relates to the expectation of respondents that postsecondary education in Alberta will continue to change, albeit hesitantly, and evolve in ways which reflect the government's acceptance of neoliberal values. Two streams of synthesis were identified where there is apparent agreement between the academic literature and respondent stories of expectation for continued decentralization of degree conferring authority in the Alberta postsecondary education environment. The first of these streams centers on the ideas of Greer (1986), Pannu (1996), Pannu et al. (1994), Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993), and Muxlow (1997), all of whom supported the importance of external impetus for policy change. The second stream relates to the apparent nexus of elite theory (Dye, 1992) and respondent stories about policy brokers as defined by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) in the current case study.

Greer (1986, p. 40), writing specifically about higher education, suggests that significant policy change is more likely to be stimulated by the external socio-economic environment than by internal factors. In the current study of the extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta, international neoliberal pressures on postsecondary education (supra, pp. 24-26) seems to have played a significant role in shifting the policy preferences of elites in Alberta (Rae, 1996; Worth, 1995). This study identifies the policy stories of members of the educational elite who actively participated in the policy formulation and implementation of extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta. These respondents disclosed external pressures on the policy process, which included: government ideological considerations to privatize (West, 1997) and increase choice, government fiscal imperatives to reduce expenditure (Lisac, 1995), and, government perception that public universities lacked accountability. These policy rationales have international socio-economic and ideological origins which evidently have motivated policy elites in the local arena.

One explanation for the development of policy, elite theory, states that public policy originates in the preferences and values of elites who include only a small number of powerful persons drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society. New members may enter the elite governing circles only if they accept the consensus of the elite and maintain system stability. Public policy therefore reflects the values of the elite and not necessarily the demands of the masses (Dye, 1992). The stories told by respondents in the current case study of the extension of degree conferring authority supported Dye's observations about the importance of the elite in the determining direction of public policy. The policy change which extends BEd degree conferring authority specifically and decentralizes degree conferring generally appears to originate in neoliberal elites. According to this explanation, the values which influence the policy change appear to reflect the values of neoliberal elites and not the consensus of the traditional educational stakeholders which include personnel at the public universities, the Department of Alberta Education, and the Alberta Teachers' Association. These stakeholders sought democratic consultation and opposed what they perceived as ideologically driven policy change. Whereas government spokespersons have claimed that they value dialogue and input, evidence that government policy represents consensus is disputed by respondents and academics (Arnold, 1998a; Marino, 1995).

Dye (1992) also suggested that elite motivated change in public policy would be incremental rather than revolutionary because incrementalism is conservative, contains less risk, and maintains system stability. Similar to the elite theory preference for incremental change, the Alberta government appears to prefer gradual change and maintenance of system stability. Calgary Conservative MLA Wayne Coo, in discussing proposed policy change stated: "I believe in evolutionary process, not disruptive revolution" (Lisac, 1998c). Murgatroyd, a former member of the PCAB and former faculty member at Athabasca University, in an interview concurred that postsecondary policy change in Alberta is incremental:

> There is a blurring of distinction between public and private postsecondary institutions and a stronger focus on market driven activity, but you're not going to see a radical change. We don't work radically here. People think the Klein revolution has been quite radical; in fact it hasn't been. I see the government as pursuing an evolving strategy as opposed to a radical one. The power blocks are established. It will take a number of small events over time to make a difference here.

The Lindblom (1959) model of incrementalism describes the policy process as characterized by bargaining and compromise. Typically, policy decisions represent what is politically feasible rather than what is desirable. Dr. W. Worth, former Chair of the PCAB and a former Deputy Minister of Advanced Education; Dr. R. Bosetti, former Deputy Minister of the Alberta Department of Education; and Dr. M. Horowitz, former

Dean of the Faculty of Education and former President of the University of Alberta who chaired the independent evaluation of The King's University College proposed BEd program, were the policy brokers who represented the educational establishment elites that negotiated the policy compromise which extends BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta (supra, pp. 135-137). The incremental change represented by the extension of BEd degree conferring in Alberta caused educational stakeholders to raise objections but these did not adversely affect system stability. However, extension of BEd degree conferring to private colleges was halted after two programs achieved authority when opposition became sufficiently vociferous that the elites counseled a cessation of new program authorization (supra, pp. 106-107).

There are good reasons suggested by incrementalists to explain policy compromise. Lindblom (1979) stated that that step-by-step incremental change is less disruptive than radical change. Second, bureaucracy promotes continuation of existing practices. In the current case study on the extension of BEd degree conferring in private colleges, both of these incremental brakes appear in operation.

Criticisms of incrementalism, according to Howlett and Ramesh (1995, p. 144) include that (a) incrementalism lacks goal orientation, that is, policy makers have not adequately analyzed policy alternatives and hence are not clear about where the policy is going; (b) incrementalism is inherently conservative, and not given to large scale change or innovation; (c) incrementalism is fundamentally undemocratic because it confines decision-making to a process of bargaining among stakeholder elites; and (d) incrementalism provides short-sighted decisions which may have adverse consequences for society.

In the current case study these negative characteristics of incrementalism are present. The Alberta government does not appear to have a vision with regard to a new postsecondary education system. Murgatroyd stated in an interview that the government was "pursuing an evolving strategy." Mawhinney (1994b) similarly found a lack of long range policy planning in educational change in Ontario: "In practice, policy appears to be less formally designed, reflecting instead a process of policy oriented-learning" (p. 30). There are other similarities between the Howlett and Ramesh (1995) criticisms of incrementalism and postsecondary policy change in Alberta. Incremental extension of degree conferring authority in Alberta has been opposed as undemocratic and unrepresentative of the wishes of the professional educational establishment (supra, p. 92). Finally, opponents of the incremental policy shift which provides BEd degree conferring authority to private colleges have criticized the policy as having adverse consequences for the teaching profession and the public universities and as harming their communitarian vision of society.

In the historical context degree conferring in Alberta has expanded incrementally from one university, the University of Alberta, which was solely empowered to confer degrees in Alberta until the creation of regional public universities in Calgary, Lethbridge, and Athabasca (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980). In the last decade this decentralization of degree conferring authority has extended to the private colleges. Teacher education in Alberta can be at least partly understood in this historical context of incremental decentralization of the postsecondary education system. Regional accessibility, institutional responsiveness, decentralization, and privatization are the new policy preference descriptors that respondents in the current study expect will continue to drive incremental policy change in the Alberta postsecondary environment.

6. **Expectation of conflict and resistance to government policy**. The debate about the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta reflected a conflict of values between the broad consensus of educational stakeholders and the private colleges and the Alberta government (supra, p. 140). On the one hand, the government was committed to the New Right values of choice, responsiveness, and decentralization. Resisters of the policy shift which extends BEd degree conferring to the private colleges were the established educational stakeholders whose values had been challenged by government assumptions. These resisters included the public university faculties of education and the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA).

Exacerbating the difficulty in explaining the dynamics of the policy problem was the apparent general decline in influence of the ATA and public universities in Alberta society. The public universities faced government incursions on their autonomy and increased accountability and coordination pressures since the failed Adult Education Act of 1975 (Winchester, 1984). Additionally, since the advent of fiscal restraint by the Alberta government in 1994, the public universities have suffered debilitating postsecondary funding reductions (Marino, 1995, supra, p. 58). The assault on public universities by the right was not confined to Alberta but reflects an international trend (Pannu et al., 1994; supra, pp. 24-25). Chomsky (as cited in Rivers, 1998), stated that the attack on academic freedom is part of the "broader offensive to restrict what went on in universities" (p. 60). The ATA has also been in conflict with the Alberta government over several issues during the last decade, including increased accountability pressures from provincially mandated external student examinations at Grades 3, 6, 9, and 12; the 5% province-wide teacher salary rollback of 1994 and subsequent education funding austerity and kindergarten funding cuts; the provision of school "choice" with increased parental control of public schools through parent councils; and increased opportunities for private school funding. The ATA has responded acrimoniously to each of these government initiatives.

The policy debate which resulted in BEd degree conferring in the private colleges requires recognition of the interconnected policy issues identified above, including education funding austerity, accountability of public education pressures from external examinations and school councils, and increasing financial support for private education. Dunn (1981) stated that policy problems frequently affect other policy areas and that policy problems are interdependent parts of whole systems of problems which can be described as *messes* (p. 99). Understanding these "messes of problems" requires a holistic approach, and resolving these messes of problems may require solving several interlocking problems. The policy debate on the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta involved messes of problems, and this makes problem definition difficult. Dunn defines this as an "ill-structured problem because it involves many decision makers whose values are difficult to rank, consensus among stakeholders is difficult to attain and conflict and competing goals among stakeholders are evident" (pp. 104-105).

Seen as a system of interrelated messes of problems, the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private colleges becomes another of the several assaults on the traditional autonomy and prestige of the advocacy coalition which includes the ATA and the faculties of education of the public universities. Whereas the faculties of education and the public universities in general have less room to maneuver because of their direct funding relationship with Alberta's Department of Advanced Education and Career Development, the ATA has a great capacity to advocate for its membership. As an organization funded directly by its members, the ATA is prepared to confront the values of neoliberalism and internationalization which its leadership recognize as threatening collective teacher strength. For example, the ATA leadership recognizes Alberta government support for private education, privatization of teacher preparation and financial austerity in public education expenditure as manifestations of New Right ideology. Keohane and Milner (1996) suggested that "it is highly unlikely that unions, political parties, and other organized interests disadvantaged by internationalization will passively accept their fate (p. 20)." Similarly, it is unlikely that the ATA would accept the reduced professional prestige that it believes follows from New Right policy preferences which the study respondents referred to as pressures for teacher "deprofessionalization." Rather, Keohane and Milner postulated that "existing institutions may make new policies literally unthinkable. Domestic institutions may simply be able to block any changes from occurring even in the face of internationalization (p. 21).

Doern, Pal and Tomlin (1996, p. 4) state that the conflict between neoliberal internationalization processes and pressures to protect domestic autonomy results in two basic reactions, "accommodation or resistance." Alberta government policies such as fiscal restraint and privatization reflect "accommodation" of policy goals which accept the inevitability of neoliberal internationalization. The ATA opposition to decentralization and privatization of BEd degree programs was a response of "resistance" and an attempt to maintain the professional status of teachers and their relatively high levels of remuneration from internationalization pressures which teachers believe will deprofessionalize teaching.

The policy debate can be viewed as a struggle between the interests of local professional educators and advocates of neoliberal ideas. The ATA has traditionally been able to count on the support of the faculties of education of the public universities and civil servants employed in the Alberta Department of Education. The opposing advocacy coalition, comprised of the private colleges, the Christian Right, and neoliberal business advocates, appeared to be in the minority. However, the strength of neoliberal ideas appears to have played a countervailing role in the policy debate. The pressures to resist granting BEd degree conferring authority to the private colleges, while formidable and unrelenting, were overcome by neoliberal pressures to accommodate this policy shift. Pannu et al. (1994, p. 512) identified this phenomenon of successful neoliberal networks which have the ability to lobby government and communicate their goals in electoral campaigns as a significant contributing factor impelling welfare state retrenchment globally.

Keohane and Milner (1996, p. 21) identify three potential responses by domestic institutions which block internationalization of domestic politics: (a) They may block relative price signals from the international economy from entering the domestic one, thus obscuring actors' interests; (b) they may freeze existing coalitions and policies in place by making the costs of changing these coalitions and policies very high; and (c) they may channel leaders' strategies in response to international economic change. The ATA seems to have attempted to limit internationalization pressures on teacher status on all three of these levels. The ATA blocked international price signals and reduced labor market competition for teachers by supporting provincial teacher certification and rejecting internationalization of teacher credentialing. It froze its faculty of education coalition partners and made high the cost of changing teacher preparation by virtue of the central role played by the ATA in practicum placements for BEd students. Finally, the ATA leadership participated in political lobbying which supported public education and campaigned against New Right policy initiatives in education such as external achievement examinations, publication of school ratings in achievement examinations, the introduction of charter schools to Alberta, and funding for private schools.

ATA resistance to an Alberta government policy shift toward the right suggests problematic relations between the ATA and government. The ATA leadership can be expected to continue to act as an advocate for the interests of its members even when these interests run counter to the government policy. Additionally, the ATA's membership generally holds different values from those of the government (supra, p. 140). These values are strongly felt by many ATA members and the policy-oriented learning anticipated by the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) ACF required for a change of these values has not been evident in the study interview data. Achieving a middle ground of compromise between ATA goals and emerging New Right government policy goals appears difficult. Mawhinney (1994b) concluded in her study of educational change in Ontario that failure to generate consensus on policy change can have "long term impacts on the legitimacy with which the government is viewed" (p. 30). Similarly, in Alberta, because consensus has not been achieved, the respondents in this study predicted continued resistance by the ATA leadership to government policy which extends BEd degree conferring authority particularly, and a general resistance by teachers to government policy on interrelated messes of educational problems. For example, with respect to the extension of BEd degree conferring to private colleges, the ATA has resisted cooperating in policy implementation by refusing practicum placements to private college BEd students. This strategy has however, proved ineffective in disrupting the private college BEd practicum programs because individual teachers have agreed to accept private college BEd practicum students in their classrooms. On other interrelated educational policy problems, the ATA leadership can also be expected to oppose New Right policy preferences. An ATA respondent stated "we have lost so far because the power is in the hands of a right wing caucus that seems to take every opportunity to underfund public education, along with deregulation, deskilling, privatization, de-professionalization, and union busting . . . And the fight, quite honestly, is not over.

7. **New degree conferring authority on the horizon**. A seventh finding of the study had respondents on both sides of the policy debate on the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta with common expectations that new degree conferring programs would become authorized at the private and/or public colleges of Alberta. Disagreement was confined to the questions of how desirable it was to continue to extend degree conferring authority and to the rate at which these new programs might become authorized.

Dr. M. Horowitz, former Dean of the Faculty of Education and President of the University of Alberta, stated that the extension of degree conferring in private and public colleges was a trend that he believed would continue in the future:

> You can't ignore that more recently the public colleges are moving in this direction. There is a teacher education program at Red Deer, there's a teacher education program at Grande Prairie, but just as in the BC model, they are U of A programs brokered in affiliation. Could it be it's more a pretense than a fact that the U of A is involved? The government can't justify forever that private colleges can offer degrees, if endorsed by an appropriate procedure like the PCAB, but the public colleges can't. So I think it's just a matter of time before the public colleges are going to be permitted to offer their own programs.

Dr. H. Montgomerie, former member of the PCAB, concurred with Horowitz that there is a trend for extension of degree conferring to other public postsecondary institutions.

> I suspect that Red Deer and Grande Prairie colleges will go degree granting. Certainly I have had conversations with them. They want to offer a BSc, a BEd, and maybe a BSc in nursing program. I wouldn't like to see it go much further than that.

Dr. B. Potvin, former faculty member of Concordia University College, also expected to see public colleges achieve degree granting authority:

> I think the best thing that we'll see is what is happening at Red Deer and Grande Prairie, the BC model, where university-colleges or colleges broker degrees from the university. I think that's something that may become more a norm across Canada.

Former Dean of Education at the University of Alberta, Dr. W. Worth, and a former Chair of the PCAB and Deputy Minister of the Alberta Department of Advanced Education, had a different perspective about the prospects for extended degree conferring in the Alberta postsecondary landscape:

> I don't think you will see many more colleges become university-colleges with degree conferring authority that are funded from the public purse. I think the next development is going to be the accrediting, the awarding of degree-granting authority, to proprietary, for profit institutions. The PCAB was recently focusing on this specific question: How should we amend our processes and our

> policies to accommodate for-profit institutions like DeVry Institute or the Columbia Institute in Calgary?

Dr. S. Murgatroyd, former faculty member of Athabasca University and former member of the PCAB, anticipated degree conferring change on several fronts. In addition to degree conferring in private institutions, Murgatroyd expected corporations to apply for accreditation of in house education programs. He suggested that a third area of degree conferring growth would come in programs offered jointly by universities and colleges:

> It will be gradual. You will see more private institutions. DeVry College is an obvious candidate for degree granting and you will see initially a small number of businesses wanting to offer degrees. TransAlta Utilities corporation has already expressed an interest in it. The changing policy that's about to take place is to permit any organization, TransAlta Utilities or the Syncrude Canada corporation, for example, to offer a degree should they wish to do so. The other strategy you're going to see is a lot more alliances and partnerships. The strategy being pursued at Athabasca University, for example, is to be the degree granting agency for the community colleges. Students would study two years at the college and then two years at the university. This is the two plus two kind of model. We have the agreements in place. In a marketing context, we would call this an increase in the product mix.

Even the respondents most critical of the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to the private colleges expressed the opinion that further extension of new degree conferring authority was expected. ATA Vice-President L. Booi, was apprehensive about the expectation that a private college in Calgary would receive authority to confer a BEd degree. Dr. J. Paterson, University of Alberta Faculty of Education professor and a former chair of the PCAB, and also a strong objector to private college BEd programs conceded: "Eventually, you could expect that more colleges could become university-colleges with degree conferring authority. That probably is the trend."

In summary, there was a strong consensus among the respondents of this study that the expansion of degree programs in the private and public postsecondary institutions of Alberta was highly probable. Differences occurred only in matters of expected timing of this move and on how advisable it was to substantially extend degree conferring authority.

Conclusions

There are two fundamental conclusions raised by the findings of this study. The first flows from Findings 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7 and concerns the ATA response to Alberta government policy which extended BEd degree conferring authority in an emerging postsecondary education system. The second conclusion of the study relates to the utility of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (AFC) for analysis and presentation of policy change data in the current case study, and in particular the finding that factors exogenous to the policy subsystem appear to play a more important role in the case study policy development than did the interactions by actors in the policy subsystem.

A synthesis of the findings of the current study indicate that the historical trend for decentralization of degree conferring authority in Alberta that began in the 1960s continues. This trend was accelerated by the creation of the PCAB in 1984 and the increasing neoliberalization of government policy since the advent of the Klein government in 1993. Opposition by the ATA to the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to the private colleges has exposed a fundamental clash of values between those of the ATA and Alberta government. The ATA respondents reported that they had not conceded acceptance of the neoliberal policy preferences of the provincial government and would continue to oppose the privatization of teacher preparation programs. As the government shows no indication of reversing the extension of degree conferring authority there is potential for political action by the ATA.

The ATA's stated position on the policy debate was to protect teacher status and remuneration which were threatened by a proliferation of BEd degree conferring authority outside of a university setting. However, there has been no apparent decline in teacher status or remuneration since approval of the King's or Concordia BEd programs. Public sector wages, including those of teachers, were rolled back before the private college BEd programs were authorized. It may be that the ATA opposition to BEd degree conferring authority in private colleges originates more in their opposition to neoliberal policy preferences of the government and perceived threats to public education than in ATA efforts to protect teacher status.

The ATA resistance to the private college BEd programs has been relatively ineffective. The ATA staff was unable to convince the PCAB to refuse to recommend for approval the two private college BEd degree program applications which were successful. Political lobbying by the ATA was also unable to deter the government from providing legislative approval for those same two private college BEd programs. Nor has the ATA been successful in requesting that its membership refuse to accept practicum students from the private college BEd programs. Continuation by the ATA of an ideological struggle with the government would also appear to offer limited hope of success. Opposition to government policy could result, like in British Columbia, with a partitioned professional association, an option that the ATA has repeatedly rejected. It would seem advisable for the leadership of the ATA to devise new strategies in response to the emerging devolution of degree conferring of which the BEd is an example.

The original debate on the King's and Concordia college applications for BEd degree conferring authority revolved around the issue of competence of these institutions to offer a BEd program and the quality of the teachers prepared in the applying institutions. A pragmatic refocus on quality might bear more fruit for the ATA than continued opposition to the current government policy. The ATA and the faculties of education already work cooperatively and collegially to ensure quality teacher preparation in the public universities. This kind of cooperation could be extended by the ATA into the private college BEd programs. The ATA could benefit from involvement in the private college BEd programs and exert influence in a positive way to ensure that teachers are prepared in a quality program.

A change of strategy from that of opposition on claims of protecting professional status to a pragmatic and more positive contribution of ensuring quality in the college BEd programs would necessitate policy-oriented learning in the leadership of the ATA. Considering that policy-oriented learning takes place in all organizations due to the evolving composition of its membership, the ATA leadership should consider changing their stance sooner rather than later. Perhaps the biggest impediment to a change in ATA policy is the inertia of the association's long standing strategy to oppose the extension of BEd degree conferring programs outside of a university setting. However difficult a change of direction would be for the ATA, such a change seems needed because their traditional opposition to the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private colleges has been apparently both ineffective and counterproductive to ensuring ATA influence in the new BEd programs.

The second conclusion arising from the findings regards the utility of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (AFC) for analysis and presentation of the policy change data in the current case study on extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta. The researcher concludes that the ACF is an effective model primarily because it is able to incorporate both the interactions within the policy subsystem and factors, such as the effects of ideology, that are exogenous to the subsystem. Interaction in the policy subsystem and effects exogenous to the subsystem are hypothesized as the two factors which cause policy change. Also of value in the model is the identification of stakeholder values which assist in aggregating policy actors into competing advocacy coalitions. A final important contribution of the model is the concept of policy oriented learning which takes place in advocacy coalitions over periods of at least a decade. This concept provides the conceptual vehicle for speculating about how policy change is considered in organizations and how those organizations may respond in the future.

One additional observation should be noted with respect to utilization of the ACF model to analyze the current study data. As suggested above, both interactions in the policy subsystem and the effects exogenous to the subsystem are hypothesized as the causes of policy change. In the current case study debate was seen to occur between two opposing advocacy coalitions in the policy subsystem. The apparently dominant coalition opposing the policy change consisted of the educational community of professional educators in the ATA, the faculties of education of the public universities, and staff of the Department of Alberta Education. The advocacy coalition supporting the extension of degree conferring authority to private colleges consisted of advocates for the private colleges, civil servants in the Department of Advanced Education and Career Development, advocates for regional public colleges, and the government which legislated the extension of degree conferring authority. In the end, BEd degree conferring authority was extended to the private colleges in the face of strong opposition from the traditional educational community. The factor which apparently tipped the scales in favor of the private college applications for BEd degree conferring authority was what Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith call effects exogenous to the subsystem, in this case the effects of ideology on the policy debate.

The prominence of factors exogenous to the policy subsystem was anticipated by Wellstead (1996) who utilized the ACF to analyze forestry policy in Alberta and Ontario. Wellstead hypothesized that in policy communities which are heavily export oriented (like forestry), the effects of factors exogenous to the subsystem will have a greater impact on policy change than interactions in the local policy subsystem (p. 92). The current case study, however, considers professional preparation in a primarily local provincial market and not an export market. Still, the exogenous effects of ideology appear to have played a more prominent role in the provincial postsecondary policy subsystem than was anticipated. This finding appears to support the argument of International Relations (IR) literature which argues that internationalization pressures for policy convergence is a more important cause of policy change than interactions in the domestic policy subsystem.

Implications of the Findings

If the respondents of this study were correct in their assumptions that the extension of BEd and other degree conferring authority in Alberta will continue, albeit incrementally, and that the advocacy coalition opposing this policy change, especially members of the ATA, will continue to oppose this policy direction, then these findings present several potential implications that should be considered. There are potential implications for the preparation of school administrators, for the Teacher Certification Branch of the Alberta Department of Education with respect to quality control of new teachers, and for the Private Colleges Accreditation Board (PCAB).

Although the new BEd programs at King's University College and Concordia University College have been modeled on the U of A BEd program, the public university BEd programs are changing and the private college BEd programs should also be expected to change as these college programs become mature and develop autonomy. It follows then, that there may be considerable differentiation in teacher preparation as more programs are authorized and as these programs innovate and compete for market share of available BEd students. Changes have already occurred. For example, the traditional four year concurrent BEd program of studies at the University of Calgary was replaced in 1996 by a five year consecutive BEd after degree program. The University of Alberta Faculty of Education in 1995 adopted the so-called "1 plus 3 model" where prospective teachers begin the first year of studies in the Faculties of Arts or Science and then enter a three year concurrent BEd program of studies. The BEd programs of The King's University College and Concordia University College were modeled on the former U of A BEd program. Now that the U of A program has changed, one could expect that the BEd programs at King's and Concordia will also change, and not necessarily to emulate the new U of A BEd program.

Differentiation of BEd programs has implications for monitoring the quality of graduates of these diverse BEd programs. School superintendents employing graduates of these programs will need to monitor the comparative competence of their new teachers because some BEd programs may better prepare teachers than others and administrators will want to hire those new teachers who have had the best preparation. Although such monitoring is currently done, doing so will be made more necessary with the addition of the new teacher preparation programs at King's and Concordia University Colleges and with the outreach teacher preparation programs at Red Deer, Medicine Hat, and Grande Prairie Colleges. Concern about quality control will necessitate increased monitoring of teacher graduates early in their teaching careers, and especially before decisions have to be made on awarding continuous professional contracts and permanent certification.

Concern about quality control also has implications for the Teacher Certification Branch of the Department of Alberta Education, which will probably have a more onerous task than currently exists of monitoring new teacher qualifications and competencies as new teachers graduate from increasingly diverse preparation programs. As the first line of defence for quality control of teacher qualification and competency, the Teacher Certification Branch protects the Alberta public and school boards by assuring the quality of teachers certified. When the majority of certified teachers were prepared at the University of Alberta in the mid 1960s, the Teacher Certification Branch knew that their preparation was of generally uniform quality. As graduates of other universities and now of private colleges apply for certification from increasingly diverse programs, the Teacher Certification Branch evaluation of these applications becomes increasingly complex. Also, there is the potential for greater differences in competency among graduates of these diverse programs as the numbers of institutions awarding the BEd degree increase. Thus, even with the graduating institution's endorsement of competency, there is increased risk that differences among the applicants for certification will be greater. It is probable that the Teacher Certification Branch of the Department of Alberta Education will need not only to increase the scope of its evaluation to include the courses completed by students, but also to monitor the program offered by BEd degree conferring institutions, much as they now do for certification applicants from other Canadian provinces and foreign trained teachers.

Although the Teacher Certification Branch may contend that the PCAB has recommended that accredited institutions be permitted to offer teacher preparation programs, the PCAB's primary role is to assess postsecondary institution competence to offer new degree conferring programs. As new programs are accredited by recommendation of the PCAB, these programs and their offering institutions will need to be monitored to ensure the continued competence of these institutions to confer degrees in these programs. The trend for increased decentralization of degree conferring programs identified in this study suggests a need for a monitoring agency which can provide credibility for these new programs. In the United States there are national accrediting bodies in the professions of medicine, dentistry and education, and accreditation systems for libraries and postsecondary institutions. Postsecondary institutions and professional associations are not required to apply for accreditation, but most do because accreditation provides credibility (Skolnik, 1990, p. 91). For example, many teacher preparation institutions in the United States apply for accreditation to the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). In Canada, in part due to the small numbers of universities of generally similar quality, such accreditation bodies have not been viewed as necessary, but this might change as the public seeks assurance about the quality of programs offered in the various postsecondary institutions. An emerging need for accreditation bodies in Canada may be indicated by the national popularity of the Maclean's magazine annual ratings of Canadian universities which since 1991 has been a measuring stick for Canadian universities.

As the Alberta government has demonstrated its preference for private sector solutions, one would expect that a private accreditation organization might meet the apparent need here as in American jurisdictions. Additionally, publicly funded colleges and universities may also eventually be required to have their programs accredited at regular intervals. Alternatively, if the Alberta government chooses to protect the credibility of provincial postsecondary programs with a public accreditation body, the role of the PCAB could grow to assure institutional quality with increased monitoring and evaluation functions. Whether a new private accreditation body is developed or the PCAB functions were enhanced to meet increased monitoring requirements, as more institutions achieve degree conferring authority, the need for increased monitoring of program quality similarly increases.

Increasing differentiation in teacher preparation programs also has implications for practicing school administrators. Assuming that the ATA continues to see proliferation of teacher education as a threat, there could be continued resistance by the ATA to government policy, and the ATA might initiate political action which challenges the government. Potential ATA initiatives could exert pressure on practicing school administrators to choose between demonstrating collective solidarity with the ATA or with their employing school boards. Such ATA initiatives might also result in government action to separate school administrators from membership in the ATA. For example, on December 2, 1998, private member's Bill 219, which among other provisions, would have removed principals from the bargaining unit, was defeated in the Alberta legislature (Svidal, 1998, p. 7). The potential separation of teachers from principals has implications for the professional development of school administrators in public university MEd programs. For example, more emphasis would need to be placed in principal preparation on the legal issues of teaching, including the issues related to teacher supervision, the relationship between school administrators and the ATA, and administrator relationship with ATA staff who defend teacher rights.

As the potential increases for greater differences in quality among teachers prepared in a growing number of BEd programs, the need for instructional supervision at the school level also increases. One implication of this logic is the need to prepare school administrators who are capable of monitoring teacher performance. However, carrying out this responsibility may be difficult or impossible in a potentially hostile climate that could result if school administrators were removed from membership in the ATA. In the Alberta Legislative Assembly, during debate about Bill 219, Calgary-Currie MLA Jocelyn Burgener argued for an increased supervision role for principals: "Principals need the freedom to be more effective in their evaluation of teachers. They need a new range of accountability to deal with their community" (Svidal, 1998, p. 7). However, even with teachers and school administrators in the same bargaining unit, Ratsoy (1997) concluded that teachers in Alberta had "strongly-held negative opinions about the utility of the present teacher evaluation process" (p. 4). Under current provincial policy, professional development is primarily a responsibility of the teaching profession, and monitoring of instructional performance is expected only when school administrators suspect problems. Routinely scheduled monitoring of teacher competencies is not required, and this policy is strongly supported by ATA staff as a recognition of teacher professional autonomy. Increased instructional supervision could remind teachers of the dreaded 1995 government trial balloon favoring term certification for teachers and mandatory evaluation of teacher competencies. The ATA would certainly not concede without a struggle to give up the current policy presumption of teacher competency with life long certification. Any mandate for administrators to increase instructional supervision in schools could present potential conflict with the ATA precisely when the competence of new teachers prepared in differentiated BEd programs presents a problematic monitoring conundrum for administrators.

Recommendations for Further Study

The recommendations for further study probe three areas, including the quality and effects of new degree conferring programs and the utility of the ACF for the study of policy change. The first two recommendations propose research on the quality of graduates of the new BEd degree programs. The first recommendation suggests tracking BEd graduates to compare rates of success of teachers from different institutions over time. Quality control is also the focus of the second recommendation, which proposes further study of the role of the PCAB and a policy analysis of potential future roles for the PCAB. The third recommendation is for a study of the effects of private college degree programs on the public postsecondary sector. The fourth and fifth recommendations call for study of the perceptions of public college stakeholders and effects of the extension of degree conferring programs in the public college system. The sixth and seventh recommendations for further study explore the utility of the ACF policy change model and its applicability in another educational setting, and calls for further examination of policy-oriented learning, a critical aspect of the ACF for the study of policy change.

1. Since the private colleges of Alberta have achieved BEd degree conferring authority and other private and public colleges might also attain degree conferring authority, monitoring of these degree programs might be needed to ensure quality programs. Longitudinal analysis of the careers of BEd graduates of The King's College and other private colleges could be done and the results compared to those for BEd graduates of the public university Faculties of Education. Data on all Alberta teachers are collected by the Teacher Certification Branch of Alberta Education, including data on applications for interim certification and permanent certification. The Teacher Certification Branch also tracks all teachers in Alberta annually with a survey that records school location, teaching assignment, and university courses taken. Comparison could be made on attrition rates for interim certified teachers, the length of time needed to attain continuing contracts, and success rates and the length of time required to achieve permanent certification. Interview information might add perspective to the statistical data collected.

2. Because the PCAB has played such a crucial role in the development of private institution degree conferring authority in Alberta, a policy analysis on the existing and potential new roles of the PCAB should be done. This study could examine the historical and ideological roots of the PCAB and its inauguration and development, and in the absence of other institutional accreditation bodies, policy options for its possible future roles should be identified and discussed.

3. Arguments for privatization and decentralization of postsecondary education have emphasized ideological rationale which supports the desirability of choice, accountability, innovation, and institutional responsiveness. On the other side of the issue, critics of privatization in the Alberta educational establishment generally argue for protection of their institutional self interest. Although the PCAB considers institutional ability to offer competent programs, I believe that the broader effects of awarding degree conferring authority in private colleges should also be analyzed. For example:

i.) Do private postsecondary degree conferring programs affect the total numbers of student placements in postsecondary programs? Does change in provincial funding affect total student placements? What are the demographics of student enrollments, and are these changing?

ii.) Does competition from private postsecondary institutions affect enrollments, tuition costs, and degree programs at particular public postsecondary institutions?

iii.) Do the new private postsecondary degree conferring programs in Alberta reflect increased institutional autonomy or increased government control?

These are complex questions which might not be settled definitively. However, measures of institutional competence and debate about hard data, which were relatively absent in the current policy debate, should ideally play as prominent a role in policy deliberation as the ideological rationale so prevalent in the stories of stakeholders. There is a need for such data.

4. In consideration of respondent expectations that Alberta public colleges will attain degree conferring authority, it would be useful to study the perceptions of stakeholders in the public college system for their understanding of potential benefits and problems that achieving degree conferring authority might accord their institutions. A comparison of one public college in active pursuit of degree conferring authority with another college opposed to expanding programs beyond the first two years of university transfer could expose relevant perceptions and important information that would be useful for policy analysts.

5. A study of the perceptions of various stakeholders at the regional public colleges in Grande Prairie, Red Deer, and Medicine Hat with respect to their interest in degree conferring authority could assist policy analysts and government officials to assess regional interests and expectations. Additionally, data should be collected on the potential effects on regional economic development that degree conferring authority might provide for the regional host communities, and the potential effects that increased regionalization of postsecondary degree conferring might have on the public universities of Alberta should be assessed.

6. To the researcher's knowledge, the ACF model has now been used only four times in Canadian studies of policy change. Mawhinney (1993) used the model to examine public education policy change in Ontario and two Canadian studies of forestry policy change have also utilized the ACF model (Lertzman, Rayner & Wilson, 1996; Wellstead, 1996). The current study has demonstrated the utility of the ACF model for explaining the extension of BEd degree conferring authority in Alberta private

postsecondary institutions. Another study in the Alberta educational policy subsystem which utilized the ACF for the study of policy change would be useful to ascertain the validity of the ACF for identifying policy relevant factors. Another study which utilized the ACF would also be useful to evaluate the ACF ability to explain probable causation of policy change for other policy problems, and could provide information to confirm or disconfirm the utility of the ACF for policy study generally. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, do other studies which utilize the ACF find, as did the current study, that exogenous factors appear to be more important to policy change than issues which originate in the policy subsystem.

7. A critical concept of the ACF for explaining policy change is the role of policy learning over a time span of a decade or more. A study that focused specifically on policy learning in advocacy coalitions could be useful to identify the extent of policy learning that may have taken place in the Alberta postsecondary education policy subsystem. Additionally, it would be useful to ascertain how this possible change in perceptions of the stakeholders affects the current development of unfolding postsecondary policy in Alberta. With respect to ACF theory, it would also be valuable to hypothesize about the identity of conditions under which policy-oriented learning might be fostered or enhanced. For example:

i.) Does the PCAB function as a professional forum which negotiates with opposing advocacy coalition elites and facilitates policy brokers?

ii.) Does the PCAB promote policy-oriented learning?

iii.) If policy-oriented learning is facilitated by the PCAB, how is this learning diffused in advocacy coalition constituent organizations?

Reflections of the Researcher

As this study draws to its conclusion, I find myself examining the vista as from the rear view mirror of a vehicle departing the scene. Like that of many researchers, my dissertation experience was a personal journey of growth and discovery. Although growth was perhaps secondary to the primary objective of the dissertation report, I conclude with some reflections on the inquiry process recently completed, including reflections on limitations of a study of this type, reflections on my own values, and an explanation of how my understanding of the causation of the policy shift changed during the study.

With respect to limitations of the study, it became quickly apparent that data collection designed to expose causation of the policy change would prove problematic.

Initial probes with various respondents seemed to result in both respondent agitation and carefully guarded responses. The policy change to extend BEd degree conferring was vigorously contested by professional educators in the ATA, and support for the position taken by the ATA was shared by staff in the public university faculties of education. The respondents were often initially cautious, but once rapport was established, their stories and perceptions were revealed. Private college respondents seemed eager to tell their story whereas provincial civil servants, fortunately with a few exceptions, volunteered little.

The policy problem was politically charged. Each competing advocacy coalition held different values about the rationale and implications for the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private institutions. The political implications of the policy change also presented difficulty for members of staff in the faculties of education. Southern (1987) anticipated this problem:

> University men operate on a political basis not usually publicly acknowledged. [because] Political operations have a pejorative connotation, antithetical to the notion of academic objectivity and rationality. . . . Open inquiry and complete disclosure of information is not part of the political process. (p. 49)

Similarly, civil service respondents were hesitant to disclose information about the policy deliberations, citing their ethic of silence, their official neutrality as implementers of government policy, and their sensitivity to stakeholder opposition to the policy change. Skolnik (1987) recognized government reluctance to divulge information about politically sensitive deliberations:

> It is, of course, no easy matter to determine a government's rationale for most policies, as spokespersons for government usually are less explicit about the rationale for their actions than the student of their actions would wish. Also, the formulation of policy is often the outcome of a process of compromise among conflicting interests. As such, no simple statement of rationale can adequately summarize the complex interactions which precede in the observed actions (p. 79).

However, luckily, a few civil servants provided helpful information. While demanding confidentiality, they provided insight and reviewed pertinent draft passages of the dissertation.

I did not expect to encounter these considerable impediments in the data collection phase of the study. In retrospect, I believe that I was naive in my understanding of the policy debate when I began the data collection, Yet this naiveté was perhaps an advantage in that I do not feel that I prejudged the stories of the respondents as I might have if I had been more closely associated with either of the opposing advocacy coalitions. Several respondents, including Drs. Worth, Bruinsma, Horowitz, Paterson, Potvin, Montgomerie, Murgatroyd, and Buski; Mr. Booi, and Mr. Ballheim; and other respondents who remain anonymous, gave of their time generously for interviews and member checks of the data. They were also gracious and patient in presenting their perceptions to an "outsider" and assisted my understanding of the complex issues in the policy debate. However, some respondents had difficulty remembering events made dim by the passage of time or were unable to be frank due to the politically sensitive nature of the information. Another impediment to understanding respondent stories was that the information was subject to different analytical perspectives by competing stakeholders. In spite of these difficulties, I believe that the effort to achieve understanding of the divergent stakeholder perceptions provides a valuable contribution to understanding the unfolding Alberta postsecondary education landscape and the interrelated messes of problems (Dunn, 1981, p. 99) inherent in the policy debate.

A second general area upon which I found frequent need to reflect was an introspective challenge to understand my own values and how these might affect data collection and analysis. Although I recognized that researcher bias is always close to the surface, the position that I attempted to assume in the study was one of neutrality. I sought to gather and understand the stories of stakeholders associated with the policy problem. The goal of the study was to retrospectively understand the policy deliberations from the perspective of the stakeholders in contrast to a policy analysis which would require specific policy recommendations and identification of strategies for implementation.

My attempt at researcher neutrality does not imply that I did not examine my own values which include esteem for choice, diversity, and independence. As a product of the publicly funded Catholic education system, I empathize with the desire of staff in the private colleges to develop institutional autonomy and to implement an alternative program driven by a different philosophy of teacher preparation. However, as a former teacher and school administrator in public education, I can also identify with the collective struggle of teachers to attain professional recognition and remuneration. Additionally, I fear international pressures for neoliberalization threaten to reduce teacher influence in the future.

One assumption of the ACF model with which I struggled was that researcher bias usually results in researcher advocacy for one of the competing advocacy coalitions. I tried to stay on the fence from the beginning. I never suggested to respondents from either advocacy coalition that I supported their interpretations of events over those of their competitors, though I sometimes suspected that I might have been able to more easily attain valuable information if I appeared persuaded by their arguments. As the data collection concluded and the interview transcripts were analyzed, I attempted to remain essentially neutral while recognizing the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments of each advocacy coalition. The findings of the study, which include discussion of a clash of respondent values, expectation for continued education stakeholder opposition to government policy, and anticipated incremental change in the postsecondary education system, are all themes which originate in respondent stories. In the interests of maintaining neutrality, I make no policy recommendations with respect to the policy shift which extends degree conferring authority. My identification of implications of the study findings and recommendations for further research also attempt to refrain from advocacy for the position of either coalition.

A final important focus of my reflections involved a reconceptualization of my understanding of the causation of the policy debate. During the study I found that my understanding of the policy debate changed. Initially, I perceived the policy debate as a clash of interests between the advocates of adversarial organizations, The King's University College and the ATA, both of which were supported by an advocacy coalition of organizations and individuals holding similar views. This conception views policy formulation as a group theory dynamic. Group theory (Dye, 1992, pp. 26-28) suggests that policy makers respond to interest groups by negotiating and compromising, and that politics is the struggle among groups to influence public policy. In group theory changes in public policy result when relative influence between different groups changes. That is, if the equilibrium between groups is upset because of the increase of one group's numbers, wealth, leadership, or access to decision makers, then policy will shift toward the preferences of the stronger group.

However, as I considered the respondents' stories, my understanding of the policy debate began to include an appreciation of ideology as another important factor. The simple explanation of the policy debate as a clash of interests was inadequate to explain why the private colleges could win the policy debate against an apparently vastly superior advocacy coalition composed of individuals in the faculties of education of the public universities, the ATA, and important stakeholders in the Alberta Department of Education. Examination of the problem suggested that in addition to the conflict of competing interests, the role of ideas in the policy debate was also critical. The perspectives of respondents revealed the importance of ideology, and thus this dimension was added to the thesis. The model employed by the study, the ACF, was chosen because it incorporates the effects of ideology, a factor exogenous to the policy subsystem, into the policy deliberations.

An examination of the role of ideology in the current policy debate illuminates the stakeholder clash of values evident in neoliberal policy implementation and the opposition to those policies by educators who espoused values of social democracy. Thus, the study focus that began primarily as a clash of interests between advocates for private colleges who wanted these colleges to attain professional BEd degree conferring authority and ATA personnel who wished to maintain their powerful influence over teacher preparation and public education in Alberta shifted in focus to include examination of the ideological belief systems of the larger community of policy opponents. The study reviews the role of New Right economic principles and policy goals, and New Right policy manifestations in Alberta. However, as a researcher, I do not champion this ideology, nor have I opposed it. I attempt to report the data from the perspective of the respondents and consequently identify neoliberal ideology as the current dominant economic paradigm which played an important role in the policy debate. Although there are aspects of this ideology which I find persuasive, as a professional teacher who has spent his career in public education, I am a member of the stakeholder class that has much to lose from a rolling back of state funding for public and higher education. I emphasize neoliberal ideology not as an advocate, but because of its apparent influence in the current case study and the apparent important role it played in influencing public policy generally.

I consider myself to be a liberal democrat. I am persuaded of the value of debate and am prepared to accept decisions made by a majority of informed citizens. In these beliefs I am disturbed by the apparent inability of the Alberta professional educator community to halt the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to private postsecondary institutions. It is not that I personally object to the policy change which provided for extension of BEd degree conferring authority. However, it is apparent that the advocacy coalition opposing this extension of BEd degree conferring, a community of educated professionals from the ATA, the faculties of education of the public universities of Alberta, and staff from the Alberta Department of Education, demonstrated a strong consensus in their opposition to the policy which extends BEd degree conferring to private institutions. I would expect that a democratic community would respect the consensus of the stakeholder community. However, the government, for its part, appears unresponsive to the arguments of this professional consensus.

Former Deputy Minister of Education Reno Bosetti (1991) reflected the government's attitude when he argued that consensus is not necessary for policy decisions: "Complex problems would . . . never be tackled if consensus were a prerequisite to policy" (p. 218). It would appear that the effects of emerging neoliberal ideology in the Klein government is more persuasive in policy debate than the consensus of the educational community.

The role of ideology appears to have played a surprisingly dominant role in this public policy debate on extension of BEd degree conferring authority to the private colleges. Wellstead (1996) utilized the ACF to analyze forestry policy in Alberta and Ontario. With respect to domestic versus international influences on policy Wellstead hypothesized that "In policy communities that are heavily export oriented (such as forestry), the effects of market and intergovernmental initiatives will have a greater impact on policy change than either domestic events or internal debate within a policy community" (p. 92). In the current case study of the extension of BEd degree conferring authority to a private postsecondary institution, the policy change affects primarily the local provincial market for teacher preparation. Still, the effects of the market, or in this case market ideology, appear to have had a greater impact on the policy change than internal debate in the educational policy community which reflected apparent professional educator consensus opposing the policy change. This might prove troubling for persons, like myself, who have faith in the democratic process and believe that stakeholders should be able to achieve policy objectives arrived at by consensus.

References

Alberta Advanced Education (1985). *Strategic planning for postsecondary education.* Unpublished discussion paper.

Alberta Advanced Education. (1988, November) *Newsletter.* 1, (4), pp. 1-8.

Alberta Advanced Education (1990). *Responding to existing and emerging demands for University education. A policy framework.* Edmonton, AB: Author.

Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development (1992). *For all of our futures: Strategies for the future of postsecondary education in Alberta.* Edmonton, AB: Author.

Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development (1994). *New directions for adult learning in Alberta.* Edmonton, AB: Author.

Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development. (1995, October 25)*News release.*

Alberta Teacher's Association (1986). *Submission to the Education Committee of Government Caucus.* Edmonton: Author.

Alberta Teacher's Association (1992). *Submission To the Private Colleges Accreditation Board.* Edmonton: Author.

Alberta Teacher's Association (1995). *Seventy-eighth annual representative assembly MINUTES.* Edmonton: Author.

American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. (1993). *AACTE briefing paper: Improving America's Schools Act of 1993.* Washington, DC: Author.

Andrews, J. (1984). Alternate futures for Faculties of Education. *Canadian Journal of Education.* 9(3), 261-275.

Andrews, M. (1995). *New directions for adult learning in Alberta: An analysis.* Unpublished paper, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Andrews, M., Holdaway, E., & Mowat, G. (1997). *Postsecondary education in Alberta since 1945.* In G. Jones (Ed.) *Higher education in Canada: Different systems, different perspectives.* (pp. 59-92). New York: Garland.

Anisef, P. (1985). *Accessibility to postsecondary education in Canada.* Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State of Canada.

Ashford, N. (1993). The ideas of the new right. In G. Jordan & N. Ashford (Eds.), *Public policy and the new right.* (pp. 19-45). London: Pinter.

ATA News (1995, March). *Resolutions Bulletin*, Vol. 29(13), pp. 5-6.

Archer, M. (1973). *Introductory macroeconomics: A Canadian analysis.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

Arnold, T. (1998a, June 26). Consultation, round 3, draws opposition jabs. *Edmonton Journal,* p. A5.

Arnold, T. (1998b, May 7). NDs criticize deputy ministers' huge pay hike. *Edmonton Journal*, p. A9.

Ball, S.J. (1990). *Politics and policy making in education.* London: Routledge.

Barlow, M. & Robertson, H. (1994). *Class warfare: The assault on Canada's schools.* Toronto: Key Porter Books.

Berger, S, & Dore, D. (Eds.), (1996). *National diversity and global capitalism.* Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

Berghofer, D.E., & Vladicka, A.S. (1980). *Access to opportunity 1905-80. The development of postsecondary education in Alberta.* Edmonton, AB: Advanced Education and Manpower.

Becher, T. (Ed.). (1987). *British higher education.* London: Allen and Unwin.

Bennett, C. (1991). Review article: What is policy convergence and what causes it? *British Journal of Political Science,* 21, 215-233.

Betkowski, N. (1988, January 22). Memorandum to the Minister of Advanced Education Dave Russel, re: The potential for private colleges to offer BEd degrees.

Bogdan, R.C., & Biklen, S.K. (1982). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bosetti, R. (1991). The policy process in Alberta Education. In R. O'Reilly & C. Lautar, (Eds.), *Policy research and development in Canadian education.* (pp. 211-221). Calgary, AB: University of Calgary.

Bosetti, R. (1987). Undated memorandum to Mr. Gerry Heck, Chair, Council on Alberta Teaching Standards, Alberta Education.

Boyd, W.L. (1992). The power of paradigms: Reconceptualizing educational policy and management. *Educational Administration Quarterly.* 28(4), 504-528.

Boyer, R. (1996). The convergence hypothesis revisited: Globalization but still the century of nations? In S. Berger & D. Dore (Eds.), *National diversity and global capitalism.* (pp. 29-59). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Branswell, H. (1998, March 18). UK cuts child benefits for high income earners, cracks down on welfare. *The Edmonton Journal.* p. A15

Breton, D. (1996). Market speak: The rhetoric of restructuring and its implications for adult and higher education. *Studies in the Education of Adults.* 28(1), 29-47.

Brown, W. (1994). *Summary and evaluation of World Bank draft report: Priorities and strategies for education.* Unpublished paper prepared for the Canadian Teachers' Federation.

Bruinsma, R. (1995). Who educates teachers: Educating teachers in private colleges. In *Conference Proceedings: Directions, A conference on teacher education.* (pp. 13-115). Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association.

Buchanan, J., & Tullock, G. (1962). *The calculus of consent.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Campbell, C. (1995). Practicum issues. In *Conference Proceedings: Directions, A conference on teacher education.* (pp. 40-42). Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association.

Carl, J. (1994). Parental choice as national policy in England and the United States. *Comparative Education Review.* 38(3), 294-322.

Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession (1986). *A nation prepared: Teachers for the twenty-first century.* New York: Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy.

Chalmers, J.W. (1968). *Teachers of the foothills province.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Chalmers, J.W. (1988). *Twenty more years and counting.* The Education Society of Edmonton. Edmonton AB.

Chambers, A., & Avery, B. (1998, March 28). Plugging into competition - or chaos? *The Edmonton Journal..* p. A 7.

Chase, S. (1998, June 25). Alberta knocks $2.6 B off debt. *Calgary Herald.* p. A1.

Chidley, J. (1997, January 6). Reduced expectations. *Maclean's.* pp. 22-25.

Clifford, G.J., & Guthrie, J.W. (1988). *Ed school: A brief for professional education.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cremin, L. (1964). *The transformation of the school.* New York: Random House.

Denis, C. (1995). The new normal: Capitalist decline in Alberta in the 1990s. In G. Laxer & T. Harrison (Eds.). *The Trojan horse: Alberta and the future of Canada.* (pp. 86-100).Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Dennison, J. (1989). Higher education policy in the United Kingdom-Reform or dissolution? *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.* 19(1): 87-96.

Dennison, J. (1992). The university-college idea: A critical analysis.*The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.* 22(1), 109-124.

Dennison, J. (1995). *Challenge and opportunity: Canada's community colleges at the crossroads.* Vancouver: UBC Press.

Dent, H.C. (1977). *The training of teachers in England and Wales 1800-1975.* London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Department of Education and Science. (1993). *The government's proposals for the reform of initial teacher training.* London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Dobuzinskis, L. (1996). Trends and fashions in the marketplace of ideas. In L. Dobuzinskis, M. Howlett, & D. Laycock (Eds.) *Policy studies in Canada: The state of the art.* (pp. 91-124). Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press.

Doern, G., Pal, L., & Tomlin, B. (Eds.). (1996). *Border crossings: The internationalization of Canadian public policy.* Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.

Dowding, K. (1995). Model or metaphor? A critical review of the policy network approach. *Political studies.* 43(1), 136-158.

Dworkin, R. (1988, April). Conflicting visions of the role of universities in a democracy.*The Independent.* London, April 1988.

Dror, Y. (1981). *Design for policy sciences.* New York: American Elsevier.

Dunn, W.N. (1981). *Public policy analysis: An introduction.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Duthler, G. (1996, April 10). BEd degrees from colleges won't deprofessionalize teaching.*The ATA News.* p. 5.

Dye, T.R. (1992). *Understanding public policy.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Dyer, G. (1998, June 17). World ready for a court to punish murderous tyrants. *The Edmonton Journal.* p. A13.

Elliot, O. (1998, November 10). Private Christian school joins public school fold. *The ATA News*, p. A4.

Fowler, F.C. (1995). The international arena: The global village. In J.D. Scribner & D.H. Layton (Eds.) *The study of educational politics.* (pp. 89-104). London: The Falmer Press.

Fowler, R.H. (1994). Decentralization of teacher education in British Columbia, 1987-92: A study of the Politics of change. *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations*, 9(2), 9-21.

Friedman, M. (1970). *The revolution in monetary theory.* London: Institute of Economic Affairs.

Friedman, M., & Friedman, R. (1980). *Free to choose.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Friedman, M., & Friedman, R. (1984). *The tyranny of the status quo.* London: Secker and Warburg.

Galbraith, J. (1975). *Money: Whence it came, where it went.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Gardner, P. (1996). Higher education and teacher training: A century of progress and promise. In F. Furlong & R. Smith (Eds.) *The role of higher education in initial teacher training.* (pp. 35-49). London: Kogan Page.

Gariepy, R. (1998, December 8). New challenges await retiring executive secretary. *The ATA News.* p. 5.

Gatti, L. (1996, Aprril 10). Teacher preparation is universities' responsibility. *The ATA News.* p. 8.

Gilder, G. (1981). *Wealth and poverty.* New York: Basic Books.

Goodlad, J. (1990). *Teachers for our nation's schools* . San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gougeon, T. D. (1995). Practicum governance structures: Long-term consequences. In *Conference proceedings from Directions: A conference on teacher education.* (pp. 37-38). Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association.

Greer, D.G. (1986). Politics of higher education: The strategy of state- level coordination and policy implementation. In Gove, S.K. and Stauffer, T.M. (Eds.). *Policy controversies in higher education.* (pp. 27-49). New York: Greenwood Press.

Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1981). *Effective evaluation.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1982). Epistemological and methodological bases of naturalistic inquiry. *ECTJ,* 30(4), 233-252.

Harasemchuk, J. (1998, April 9). Education mill rate set to drop. *Strathcona County: This week.* p. 11.

Harrison T. (1995). The reformation of Alberta politics. In G. Laxer & T. Harrison (Eds.).*The Trojan horse: Alberta and the future of Canada.* (pp. 47-60). Montreal: Black Rose Books Ltd.

Hayek, F. (1976). *Law, legislation and liberty.* London: Routledge.

Hayek, F. (1989). *The fatal illusion.* London: Routledge.

Heck, G. (1987, Deceember 4) Unpublished letter to the Deputy Minister of Education, Reno Bosetti, Alberta Education.

Holmes Group (1986). *Tomorrow's teachers. A report of the Holmes group.* East Lansing, MI: Author.

Howlett, M., & Ramesh, M. (1995). *Studying public policy: Policy subcycles and policy subsystems.* Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Horowitz, M., Greene, M., & Ilott, H. (1994, January). *Report of the external evaluation team to the Private Colleges Accreditation Board regarding a proposal for the accreditation of an after degree program Bachelor of Education (Elementary) at The King's University College.* Unpublished paper presented to the Private Colleges Accreditation Board.

Industry Canada (1998). *Reducing regulatory barriers to trade: Lessons for Canada from the European experience.* Occasional paper Number 18, Ottawa: Author.

Jacknicke, K. (1995). Who educates teachers? Group report. In *Conference proceedings from Directions: A conference on teacher education.* (pp. 22-23).Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association.

Jenkinson, M. (1995, May 15). Union paranoia on the rise. *Alberta Report.* p. 54.

Jenkinson, M. (1994, December 5). After ten years, a Christian teachers' college. *Alberta Report* . p. 37.

Jordan, G., & Ashford, N. (Eds.). (1993). *Public policy and the new right.* London: Pinter.

Judge, H. (1990). The education of teachers in England and Wales. In E.B. Gumbert (Ed.), *Fit to teach: Teacher education in international perspective.* Atlanta: Georgia State University.

Judge, H. (1992). Teacher education. In B.R. Clark, & G.R. Neave, G.R. (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Keohane, R., & Milner, H. (1996). *Internationalization and domestic politics.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

King, D. (1987). *The new right.* London: Macmillan Publishers.

The King's University College (1993, December). *Proposal for the accreditation of a Bachelor of Education [After Degree] Elementary program.* Proposal submitted to the Private Colleges Accreditation Board, Edmonton, AB.

The King's University College (1994, April). *Revised description of the Bachelor of Education [After Degree] Elementary program.* Proposal submitted to the Private Colleges Accreditation Board, Edmonton, AB.

Kruk, I. (1995). Certification: Group report. In *Conference proceedings from Directions: A conference on teacher education.* (p. 70) Edmonton: Alberta Teachers Association.

Kuhn, T. S. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Labor to continue privatization. (1997, April 8). *Edmonton Journal,* p. F8.

Lertzman, K., Rayner, J., & Wilson, J. (1996). Learning and change in the British Columbia forest policy sector. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 29, 111-133.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1990). Judging the quality of case study reports. *Qualitative Studies in Education*. 3(1), 53-59.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lindblom, C. (1979). Still muddling, not yet through. *Public Administration Review*. 39(6) 517.

Lindblom, C. (1959). The science of muddling through. *Public Administration Review*, 19(2), 79-88.

Lindquist, E. A. (1992). Public managers and policy communities: Learning to meet new challenges. *Canadian Public Administration*. 35(2), 127-159.

Lisac, M. (1998a, April 14). Costly chickens come home to roost. *Edmonton Journal.*, p. A16.

Lisac, M. (1998b, April 10). Cultures clashed when Tory caucus faced gay rights. *Edmonton Journal.*, p. A15.

Lisac, M. (1998c, April 30). Lessons learned from spring session. *Edmonton Journal.*, p. A14.

Lisac, M. (1998d, March 28). New twist to proposed Quebec alliance. *Edmonton Journal.*, p. A14.

Lisac, M. (1995). *The Klein revolution*. Edmonton, AB: NeWest Press.

MacGregor, J.G. (1975). *Edmonton*. Edmonton, AB: Hurtig.

MacKinnon, B. (1988). *Independent colleges in Alberta*. Unpublished report prepared for the Private Colleges Accreditation Board. Edmonto, AB.

Macpherson, R.J.S. (1993). Challenging "provider-capture" with radical changes to educational administrative in New Zealand. In Y. M. Martin and R.J.S. Macpherson (Eds.) *Restructuring administrative policy in public schooling*. (pp. 243-262). Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises.

Majone, G. (1991). Cross-national sources of regulatory policymaking in Europe and the United States. *Journal of Public Policy*, 11(1), 79-106.

Marchak, P. (1988). *Ideological perspectives on Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Marino, J. (1995). Clearcutting the groves of academe. In G. Laxer & T. Harrison (Eds.),*The Trojan horse: Alberta and the future of Canada*. (pp. 209-222). Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Mawhinney, H. (1991). Policy change in education: An assessment of Sabatier's advocacy coalition framework. In R.R. O'Reilly & C.J. Lautar (Eds.), *Policy research and development in Canadian education.* (pp. 159-209). Calgary AB: University of Calgary.

Mawhinney, H. (1993). An advocacy coalition approach to change in Canadian education. In. P. Sabatier & H. Jenkins-Smith (Eds.), *Policy change and learning.* (pp. 59-82). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Mawhinney, H. (1994a). *An interpretive framework for understanding the politics of change.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Ottawa, Ottawa.

Mawhinney, H. (1994b, June). *An interpretive framework for understanding the politics of change.* Unpublished paper presented to the Canadian Association for studies in Educational Administration, Calgary, AB.

Maxwell, J.A. (1996). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach.* ThousandOaks, CA.: Sage.

Melnyk, G. (1995). Culture and the state in Alberta. In G. Laxer & T. Harrison (Eds.). *The Trojan horse: Alberta and the future of Canada.* (pp. 254-267). Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Michael, S. O., & Holdaway, E. A. (1991). Entrepreneurial activities in higher education. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education,* 22(2), 15-40.

Mintzberg, H., & Jorgensen, J. (1987). Emergent strategy for public policy. *Canadian Public Administration.* 30(2), 214-229.

Merriam, S.B. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mongomerie, H. (1990). *A prospective policy analysis of degree granting in Alberta community colleges.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Murphy, J. (1995). Workfare will make you free: Ideology and social policy in Klein's Alberta. In T. Harrison & G. Laxer (Eds.) *The Trojan horse: Alberta and the future of Canada.* (pp. 315-331). Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Muxlow, K. (1997, November). *Do policy networks matter? Policy making institutions and the internationalization of public policy.* Unpublished paper presented to the Parkland Institute Annual Conference, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

New degree programs worry U of A. (1997, December 20).*Edmonton Journal*, p. A5.

Newman, P. (1998, October 26). Paul Martin's real, revolutionary goal. *Maclean's.* 111(43), 52.

Ostry, S. (1995, December).*Technological change and international economic institutions.* Discussion paper number 2, Ottawa: Industry Canada.

Owens, R.G. (1982). Methodological rigor in naturalistic inquiry: Some issues and answers. *Education Administration Quarterly*, 18(2), 1-21.

Pal, L. (1997). *Beyond policy analysis* . Scarborough, ON: Nelson.

Pannu, R. (1996). Neoliberal project of globalization: Prospects for democratization of education. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research.* 42(2), 87-101.

Pannu, R., Schuguransky, D., & Plumb, D. (1994). From the autonomous to the reactive university: Global restructuring and the re-forming of higher education. In L. Erwin & D. MacLennan (Eds.).*Sociology of education in Canada.* (pp. 499-526). Toronto: Copp, Clarke, and Longman.

Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods.* Newbury Park, CA.: Sage.

Pike, R. (1991). Observations on the prospects for a private university sector in Ontario. *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.* 21(2), 1-27.

Podlosky, M. (1995). Practicum issues: A perspective from the Alberta Teachers' Association. *Conference Proceedings: Directions, A conference on teacher education.* Edmonton: ATA.

Pressman, J.L., & Wildavsky, A. (1979). *Implementation.* Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Pring, R. (1996). Just Desert. In F. Furlong & R. Smith (Eds.), *The role of higher education in initial teacher training.* (pp. 8-22). London: Kogan Page

Private Colleges Accreditation Board (1996). *Annual Report.* Edmonton, AB: Author.

Rae, P. (1996). New directions: Privatization of higher education in Alberta. *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.* 26(2), 59-80.

Ratsoy, E. (1997). Metaphors in teacher evaluation policy and practice: Achieving greater understanding with multiple images. *The Canadian Administrator.* 36(8), 1-12.

Rist, R.C. (1982). On the application of ethnographic inquiry to education: Procedures and possibilities. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching,* 19, 439-450.

Rivers, J. (1998). Chomsky warns of corporate secrecy threat. *The Times Higher Education Supplement.* p. 60.

Rudestam, K.E., & Newton, R.R. (1992). *Surviving your dissertation: A comprehensive guide to content and process.* Newbury Park: Sage.

Russel, D. (1988, March 3). *Memorandum to Nancy Betkowski, Minister of Education, re: Private colleges offering BEd degrees.*

Russell, S. (1997, September 30). Chamber of Commerce takes aim at ATA. *The ATA News*, p. 1.

Sabatier, P. (1986). Top-down and bottom-up models of policy implementation: A critical analysis and suggested synthesis. *Journal of Public Policy,* 6(January), 21-48.

Sabatier, P. (1988). An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein. *Policy Sciences,* 21, 129-168.

Sabatier, P. (1991). Toward better theories of the policy process. *Political Science and Politics,* 24, 144-156.

Sabatier, P., & Jenkins-Smith, H. (Eds.) (1993). *Policy change and learning: An advocacy coalition approach.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Sabatier, P., & Jenkins-Smith, H. (1997, February). *The advocacy coalition framework: An assessment.* Paper presented at the University of Amsterdam.

Schools brief: One world? (1997, October 18) *Economist*, p. 79

Schnur, J., & Golby, M. (1995). Teacher education: A university mission. *Journal of Teacher Education.* 46(1), 11-18.

The School of Education, University of Southern California (1992, March). *The educational impact of the NAFTA: A proposal to support a conference between educators in the United States, Canada and Mexico.* San Diego.

Skolnik, M. (1997). Balancing drift and design: Ontario universities need firmer direction. *CSSE News*, 24(1), 10-11.

Skolnik, M. (1990). Lipset's Continental Divide and the ideological basis for differences in higher education between Canada and the United States. *The Canadian Journal of Educational Review.* 20(2), 81-94.

Skolnik, M. (1987). State control and degree granting: The establishment of public monopoly in Canada. In Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Ed.), *Governments and higher education-the legitimacy of intervention.* (pp. 56-83). Toronto, ON: OISE Press.

Small, M. (1979). *Educational policy making: Athabasca University.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation: University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Smith, M. J. (1993). Consumer policy and the new right. In G. Jordan & N. Ashford, (Eds.), *Public policy and the impact of the new right.* (pp. 144-164). London: Pinter.

Soltis, J. (Ed.). (1987). *Reforming teacher education. The impact of the Holmes Group.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Southern, L. (1987). Politics and its limits on government, intermediaries and universities. In *Government and higher education: The legitimacy of intervention.* (pp. 41-55). Toronto: OISE Press.

Sroufe, G.E. (1995). Politics of education at the federal level. In J.D. Scribner & D.H. Layton (Eds.), *The study of educational politics.* (pp. 75-88). London: The Falmer Press.

Stake, R.E. (1995). *The art of the case study.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Svidal, S. (1998, December 8). Bill 219 defeated. *The ATA News.* p. 7.

Teacher preparation is universities' responsibility. (1996, April 10) *The ATA News.* p. 8.

Teeple, G. (1995). *Globalization and the decline of social reform.* Toronto: Garamund Press.

Tikunoff, W.J., & Ward B.A. (1980). Conducting naturalistic research on teaching: Some procedural considerations. *Education and Urban Society.* 12(3), 263-290.

Van Andel, H.W.H. (1995, June 2) ATA targets King's College with practice teaching ban. *Edmonton Journal* , A17.

Wellstead, A. (1996). *The role of the advocacy coalition framework in understanding forest policy change: Alberta and Ontario.* Unpublished master's thesis. University of Toronto, Toronto.

Welsh, D. (1993). The New Right as ideology. In G. Jordan & N. Ashford (Eds.) *Public policy and the impact of the new right.* (pp. 46-58). London: Pinter.

West, S. (1997, May 7). The code of the west. *The Edmonton Sun.* p. 12.

Wilson, S. (1979). The use of ethnographic techniques in educational research. *Review of Educational Research.* 47(1), 245-265.

Williams, M. (1995). Who educates teachers: Teacher education from the perspective of the Alberta Teachers' Association. *Conference proceedings from Directions: A conference on teacher education.* (pp. 19-21). Edmonton: Alberta Teachers Association.

Winchester, I. (1984). Government power and university principles: An analysis of the battle for academic freedom in Alberta. *Interchange,* 14(4), 41-59.

Worth, W. (1995). Quest for the best. *Conference proceedings from Directions: A conference on teacher education.* (pp. 7-10). Edmonton: Alberta Teachers Association.

Worth, W. (1978). Perspectives on policy formulation. *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education,* 8(2), 1-7.

Worth, W. (1972). *A choice of futures.* Report on the Commission on educational planning. Edmonton: Province of Alberta.

Résumé

Dale Patrick Bischoff

Academic Credentials

1995 - 1999 Candidate for Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Administration, Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Alberta.

1990 Master of Education in Educational Administration, University of Alberta. Thesis title: "A Case Study of Principal Behavior."

1978 Bachelor of Education in Secondary Education, University of Alberta.

Professional Experience

1995 - 1999 Sessional Instructor, Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Alberta. ***Courses I instructed***:

EDFX 370	Supervision of practicum in secondary education.
EDADM 401	Educational administration: The role of the teacher.
EDAL 501	Evolving concepts in educational administration.
EDAL 502	Leadership processes in education.
EDAL 522	Selected topics in educational supervision.
EDPS 410	Ethics and law in teaching.
EDPS 506	Selected topics in educational supervision.

1991 - 1995 Principal of the St. Paul Regional High School, a comprehensive high school of 450 students (grades 10 - 12) in St. Paul, Alberta.

1989 - 1991 Vice-principal and acting principal of Tofield School, a school of 600 students (grades 5 - 12) in Tofield, Alberta.

1979 - 1888 Teacher of Social Studies at St. Patrick High School (grades 7 - 12), Yellowknife NWT.

Doctoral courses completed

EdAdm 505	The self-managing school.
EdAdm 545	Education planning.
EdES 690	Doctoral seminar in teacher education.
EdAdm 571	Organization of postsecondary education.
EdAdm 611	Research methods I.
EdAdm 625	Administrative behavior I.
EdAdm 605	Field Experience: EdAdm. I.
EdAdm 606	Field Experience: EdAdm. II.
EdAdm 612	Research methods II.
EdAdm 635	Organizational theory I.
EdAdm 645	Policy analysis in education.

During my PhD residency, I was awarded by the Department of Educational Policy Studies and the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research the following awards.

a) **Walter H. Johns Graduate Tuition Scholarship** (1996-97),
b) **Graduate Studies and Research Scholarship** (1997-98), and
c) **J. Gordin Kaplin Graduate Student Award** (1997).